

The Communist

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MAY

1942

ATTACK HITLER NOW!
OPEN A WESTERN FRONT IN EUROPE!
MANIFESTO OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, C.P.U.S.A.



SURPLUS
DUPLICATE

THE BIRTHDAY OF EARL BROWDER

ROBERT MINOR

LABOR AND THE NATIONAL WAR EFFORT

ROY HUDSON

STRENGTHEN THE WAR EFFORT BY BUILDING THE PARTY

JOHN WILLIAMSON

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Earl Browder with Staff Officers of the Lincoln Battalion in Spain. From left to right: Joseph North, Editor of New Masses; Major Robert Merriman, Chief of Staff, 15th Brigade; Lieutenant Secundy, Transport Officer; Earl Browder, officer of 15th Brigade; Robert Minor now Acting Sec'y, C.P.U.S.A.; Dave Doran, Commander, 15th Brigade.

THE COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

EDITOR: EARL BROWDER



CONTENTS

Attack Hitler Now! Open a Western Front in Europe!	<i>Manifesto of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.</i>	291
The Birthday of Earl Browder	<i>Robert Minor</i>	297
Earl Browder and Ernst Thaelmann	<i>Hans Berger</i>	307
Labor and the National War Effort	<i>Roy Hudson</i>	310
Strengthen the War Effort by Building the Party	<i>John Williamson</i>	324
For a Concerted Offensive Against Hitler	<i>William Lindsay</i>	336
José Diaz: His Exemplary Life and Work	<i>J. Urizar</i>	347

(Continued on following page)

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C O N T E N T S (Continued)

Jack Johnstone, Great-Hearted Working Class Fighter	<i>Statement of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.</i>	347
For the Fulfillment of the Rio Pledges .	<i>Resolution of the Central Committee of the Commu- nist Party of Argentina. Introduction by James S. Allen</i>	360
The Second Front and the German People	<i>B. Hans</i>	374
Enforce the Fourteenth Amendment! Strengthen the War Effort by Abolishing the Poll Tax!	<i>Resolution of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A. .</i>	380

ATTACK HITLER NOW! OPEN A WESTERN FRONT IN EUROPE!

(Manifesto of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.)

WORKINGMEN and Working-
women of America!

Americans All!

May Day Greetings!

We, the people of the United States, together with all freedom-loving peoples, are engaged in a life-and-death struggle to keep Hitler fascism from enslaving our country and the world.

The titanic war against the Axis is in its most critical stage. Hitler and his satellites are ready to gamble everything this spring and summer to bring about a decision in the war this year. They are mustering all their power and resources for this objective.

What we do *today* to meet this challenge will decide the outcome of the struggle. It will decide the future of our country and of the whole world for generations to come.

Time does not wait. America must strike *now* and with all its might, together with the Soviet Union, Britain and our other allies. We must strike now in Europe at the center of the Axis to crush Hitler Germany in 1942.

Joint military action by the United Nations can smash Hitler

this year. This is possible because of the military power of America and Britain. This is possible because the great socialist state and its glorious Red Army, under the brilliant leadership of Joseph Stalin, have dealt heavy blows to Hitler's army, pulverizing the myth of Nazi invincibility.

Single-handed the Soviet Union has engaged the full might of Hitler. It developed its epic counter-offensive which the gallant MacArthur justly hailed, declaring that "the hope of civilization rests on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army."

This is the moment then for *common fighting action by the United Nations.* This is the moment then for the United States and Great Britain to open up another front in Europe. This is the time to compel Hitler to face his dreaded two-front war. This is the chance to thwart the Nazi plan for world victory in 1942 and *bring about Hitler's defeat—in 1942!*

* * *

Hitlerism—the fountain head of the Axis—is the main enemy of America and world civilization.

Therefore, while it is necessary to increase our war efforts against the Mikado, the surest way to defeat Tokyo is to strike our chief blows at Hitler and do it *now*.

May First is the honored day of international working class solidarity. It originated in the United States out of the historic struggles of American labor for the 8-hour day in 1886. On the proposal of the A. F. of L. in 1889, May Day was made an international labor holiday. Since then workers of all lands have downed tools on May Day and demonstrated for liberty, progress and happiness.

But on May Day 1942 we do *not* down tools. We stay at our machines and work harder than ever to produce the implements of war for our country and its Allies. We shall arrange Win-the-War May Day meetings and solidarity actions *after* work.

As Presidents Murray of the C.I.O. and Green of the A. F. of L. urged, we shall produce, produce, produce for an offensive on the continent of Europe to speed the defeat of Hitler.

On this May Day, therefore, the people of the United States will join with the people of Britain and the peoples of all the United Nations in a world-wide demand and movement for a Second Front in Europe *now*. And we, the American workers, will make possible this offensive on the field of battle by waging a tireless offensive on the production line and against the defeatists.

* * *

President Roosevelt and other

Administration spokesmen have declared the need for offensive action in 1942, for closer cooperation between *all* of the United Nations. The President has called for speeding aid to the Soviet Union for the crucial battles of this spring and summer. This is vital to defend the national existence and freedom of our country and people.

But there is a small yet powerful group opposed to this policy of victory: the so-called isolationists and the fascist-minded appeasers. Some are in Congress and the State Department. Some occupy key posts in war industry. Others are organized in the fifth column storm troops like the Christian Front and the K.K.K.

These defeatists are trying to sow disunity at home. They try to stop the growing unity among the United Nations. In the name of "defending our shores," they oppose aid to Britain, China and especially the Soviet Union. They are trying to block common action that is necessary for our victory—the opening of a Second Front in Europe—the thing that Hitler fears most. In this way they continue their traitorous work to save Hitler and defeat America.

On May Day, the American workers will demand that fifth columnists like Charles E. Coughlin be jailed. That defeatists in Congress like Hamilton Fish and Martin Dies be removed from public office. That defeatists within the labor movement like John L. Lewis be repudiated and isolated. That the treasonable activity of the Norman Thomases and Trotskyites be

stopped. That defeatist publishers like William Randolph Hearst, Patterson of the *Daily News* and McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune* be called to account.

On May Day we will resolve to strengthen national unity around the government, to support and implement our national policy. On May Day we will resolve that the defeatists shall not be permitted to weaken us and bring victory to Hitler.

* * *

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relationship, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds," said Abraham Lincoln.

In this spirit we pledge on May Day to build the strongest bond and unity of action among the labor movements of all countries to destroy Hitler and the Axis. The international labor movement is the backbone of the United Nations just as the American working class is the "indestructible backbone" of America's war drive.

We therefore greet on May Day the great Soviet and British people. We pledge to work so that the American labor movement will join the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, for unity of action against Hitler and fascism.

We send our warmest greetings to the workers of Latin America and urge them to rally all patriots to bring their countries into the common fight for freedom and national independence.

We extend a fraternal handclasp

to the workers of China, the Philippines, India and Australia, whose future and independence are bound up with crushing the Axis.

To the heroic workers enslaved in the Nazi-occupied countries and to the workers of Germany, Italy and Japan we send a message of brotherhood. We appeal to them to make this May Day live in history by organizing sabotage, slow-downs and strikes to cripple Hitler while we fight the Axis on May Day on the field of battle and by toiling harder than ever at the work bench.

* * *

In this great crisis of our nation—as in the War for Independence and during the Civil War—the working people must and will give their all for their country. But in no past crisis has the working class had such grave responsibilities to the country as today.

It is fortunate for the entire country that in this greatest crisis ever to confront America the labor movement is powerful, disciplined and 11,000,000 strong. By its organized strength in all the important war industries, labor is able to guarantee that with America's resources, genius and skill, we shall outproduce the Axis to *smash Hitler now*.

Great strides have already been made in the Victory Production Program through the cooperation of organized labor, the government and the majority of employers. Moreover, labor has achieved considerable unity through C.I.O.-A. F. of L. committees in the com-

munities and nationally through Labor's Victory Board.

The strike has been laid aside by labor for the duration of the war and premium pay for Sunday and holiday employment, within the 40-hour week, has been waived. The production drive inaugurated by Production Chief Donald Nelson is moving with seven-league boots, especially where joint labor-management committees are in operation. *The greater the cooperation between labor, management and government, the surer the success of the nation's program of production for Victory.*

* * *

The national war effort is threatened by those who seek to block the united military offensive of America and the United Nations, it is endangered by those who try to hamper the Victory Production Program and the unity of the nation.

National unity is impeded by the drive against labor's rights and standards, against the basic 40-hour week. It is imperiled by the open-shop campaign against the unions, by the skyward climb of prices and profits, by the current proposals for sales taxes.

Labor demands that no one shall be allowed to profiteer at the expense of the nation. Labor is ready to work any hours needed for victory. But safeguards, especially union security, are required in order that national unity and the productivity of labor shall be strengthened.

Rigid price, rent and profit con-

trol must be instituted with full protection afforded the farmers and consumers, especially to the families of the soldiers and sailors. The principles of Morgenthau's war tax program, with a genuine excess-profits tax, must be enacted. A democratic rationing system should be established so that those who must produce the implements of war shall not want in energy and strength. Labor also calls upon the people to aid the government in protecting the welfare and interests of the soldiers, sailors and officers.

* * *

Workingmen and workingwomen! On May Day let us attain new progress in the unity of American labor and in bringing greater cooperation between the A.F. of L. and C.I.O.

Organize United Labor Victory Committees everywhere! For united labor action and initiative on all questions of national policy necessary to win the war! This is the surest way to defeat those who undermine the nation's war effort.

Let us resolve on May Day to achieve united labor action and national unity in the coming Congressional elections. Labor should insist that all candidates be judged on their program and deeds rather than by party labels. Only candidates who actively support the national war effort and are working to smash Hitler *this year* should be elected to office.

All America needs a strong, united labor movement and adequate labor representation in the Cabinet and all government agen-

cies. Labor's willingness to give everything to win the war should inspire loyal Americans of all classes, regardless of race, religion or political persuasion, to similar deeds and a stronger national unity.

Although labor has the great stake in the outcome of the war, this war is being fought for the rights of everybody. It is a war of all Americans. *It is a just war for the independence and freedom of the country we love, our America.*

We must wipe out every vestige of shameful discrimination against any group of Americans of any race, creed or political belief. All Americans must insist upon full equality for the Negro people, in war jobs, in the armed forces and at the voting booth.

We demand federal action to wipe out lynching and the undemocratic poll-tax laws. We demand an end be put to anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, union-baiting and red-baiting. Expose and arrest the fifth column!

All of us—whether workers or employers, farmers or professional people; men or women; Catholics, Protestants, or Jews; Republicans, Democrats or Communists—all are threatened by the slave-world of Hitlerism. *All must fight shoulder to shoulder for complete victory over fascism.*

For this reason we Communists, together with over 3,000,000 trade unionists and other citizens of all political persuasions, call for the release of that tried and true patriot and anti-fascist, Earl Browder.

The Communist Party has pledged and is giving unconditional support to the national war effort against Hitler, Hirohito and the entire fascist Axis. The release of its leader, Earl Browder, will help strengthen national unity to win the war. It will be a powerful blow against the defeatists and the fifth column. It will inspire the oppressed people everywhere and strengthen their faith in the just cause of America and its allies. Browder should be released *now* to help achieve victory *now*.

* * *

Workingmen and workingwomen!
Fellow Americans!

Our boys in the armed forces are battling the enemy with the utmost heroism. The spirit of America is written in the deeds of the American and Filipino troops at Bataan, General MacArthur, Colin Kelly and the Negro Dorie Miller. To all our men in arms we send greetings on this May Day and our solemn pledge that *We Will Not Let Them Down*.

To our Allies, to the dauntless Red Army, the R.A.F., the fearless warriors of China—the fighters on all the far-flung battlefields against the hordes of Hitler and Tojo, to all we give our word: We American workers shall do everything in our power to strengthen the bonds of unity among all the United Nations and peoples. We shall do everything to avenge Bataan and the occupied countries by smashing Hitler with a two-front war *now*! We shall produce as never before

for our common goal, our common victory.

On this May Day, we Communists, together with all of labor and all the people, pledge our lives and united strength for the final destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism. Only in this way can we safeguard our national independence and democratic liberties, and continue to march forward in mankind's battle for greater freedom, progress and happiness.

Workingmen and workingwomen!

Strengthen the alliance of the United Nations! Forge common fighting action now between the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union!

Smash Hitler now! Open a western front in Europe!

Full aid to the Soviet Front—the decisive front of the United Nations!

Crush the Axis by delivering the main blows against Hitler and reinforcing the struggle against militarist Japan!

Secure maximum war production—24 hours a day, 7 days a week!

Weld the unity of American, British and Soviet Labor! Unite with the peoples of Latin America, China and of all lands!

Build labor unity at home and strengthen national unity behind the government!

Rout the defeatists! Imprison the fifth columnists!

Free the staunch anti-fascist, the great American patriot — Earl Browder!

Unite for victory! Everything to win the war! Destroy Hitler and fascist tyranny!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

THE BIRTHDAY OF EARL BROWDER

BY ROBERT MINOR

PIERRE LAVAL returns to rule France as the *agent provocateur* of Hitler; to attempt to turn France to war against the United States, against all of the United Nations, against all the people of the world, against *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, against civilization—trying to transform a magnificent people into the foul prostitute of the Nazi conqueror.

This is the criminal sequel written of the unceasing treacherous policy that had its earlier chapters in the notorious Laval-Hoare collusion for the surrender of Ethiopia, in the treason politics of the Laval, Bonnets, *et al*, which made the German Nazi clique the masters of Spain and Czechoslovakia, which isolated France from her powerful alliances to degrade that erstwhile first class power to the miserable satellite of Berlin.

A stirring of memory of a day in Spain: February 6, 1938.

* * *

What anniversary is this day—February 6? Exactly 160 years before, on February 6, 1778, the French Government signed with Benjamin Franklin in Paris the treaties of commerce and defensive alliance that placed France at last beside the little revolutionary

American Republic in the war for its independence against England!

Earl Browder spoke to the American volunteers on that commemorative day in 1938. He spoke of the events more than a century and a half ago, and of the great significance of this little handful of Americans in the bloody war in Spain.

It was 18 kilometers from Teruel on the Sagunto road toward Castellon de la Plana, in a lull in the terrific campaign that had begun in September, 1937, with the general advance of the Spanish Republican Army on the Arragon front. In that September advance this little American-British-Canadian fragment, hardly a drop in the bucket of the Spanish Army, had played a part worthy of their Spanish comrades, fighting with a mortality rate of more than 50 per cent. Teruel had been captured by the Spanish Republican troops in one of the most heroic episodes four days before Christmas. The American, British and Canadian volunteers had been moved into Teruel as a garrison to relieve the Spanish troops, and had held the city under bombardment during a critical attempt of the fascists to recapture it.

Now, what were left of the first American volunteers—the Lincoln Battalion—strengthened by the new

volunteers who had come over to form a second American body under the name of Washington Battalion, plus the MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion of Canadian volunteers—all incorporated in the 15th Brigade of the Spanish Army—were momentarily at rest 18 kilometers to the rear of the city.

In Barcelona I had received a telegram telling me that Earl Browder would come; I went to France to meet him, we had come back to Spain together and I had driven him over many hundreds of miles of Spanish roads to catch up with the 15th Brigade. On February 6, 1938, we found them at this point, eleven miles from the ancient fortified city on the cliffs above the juncture of the Guadalaviar and Alfambra Rivers.

I have before me a photograph taken on that memorable date. It is a picture of Earl Browder standing in front of the deserted tavern on the roadside, together with the brigade officers, and, among others, Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Doran and Major Robert Merriman. (To the north lay the great Ebro River where, soon after, Dave Doran and Robert Merriman died on a hill-top leading a remnant of their shattered troops. That was the time when Fred Keller with a bullet in his thigh swam the river three times to get the small handful across, that had survived.)

The road signs on the white-washed wall of the deserted tavern that had become the temporary headquarters of the 15th Brigade furnished the background before which gathered the officers' staff to greet the distinguished visitor from New York—Earl Browder.

"A Teruel 18 Ks."

"A Madrid 328 Ks."

"A Zaragoza—."

We got into staff cars and were driven off into the low hills away from the concrete road.

No one could ever forget the scene when the Brigade came trooping out from the shrubbery where they had been sheltered from sight of warplanes. Sentries were stationed quickly to give the alarm of any approaching enemy planes; and the men filed down into a hollow between the patches of stunted trees to stand in the open in a great semicircle around Earl Browder, standing there taking off his cap. Browder spoke for half an hour. One of the things that stood out was his remark to the men:

"The work you have done in these months is one of the high points in world history."

Browder reminded them in a quiet way that the successes attained within the immediate sector, great as the honor was, could count in the final outcome only if they were followed up by more and greater victories.

"Teruel was a great victory, a turning point, but it did not win the war. We need more Teruels. The Washington-Lincolns are in Spain until Franco is out of Spain."

The men cheered heartily when he had finished. Browder told them he wanted to exchange opinions with them.

"I came to learn from the tremendous experiences of the great Spanish people, to learn from the volunteers of the Spanish Army."

The men in shabby uniforms, leaning on elbows or reclining with heads on others' knees, began asking questions. Strangely enough, most of the questions related to home, and many were about the affairs of the American trade unions. Browder answered them. Some answers brought cheers; others only thoughtful silence.

I made a mad drive with him for the French border to get him across in time to catch the British ship Aquitania which was to sail from a French port on, I think, February 10—to get home in time for the important work he had ahead. Leaving Earl Browder at the French border I returned. Seven days later Teruel was lost—on February 22, 1938. The volunteers of the Washington Battalion said it was “bad luck for Washington’s birthday.”

* * *

On February 15, 1938, the big ship Aquitania entered New York harbor. Some fifteen newspaper reporters and photographers came aboard and sought out Earl Browder. Photographers’ flashlights and reporters’ questions occupied him as soon as he could get away from the line of passengers showing their passport at a table in the ship’s saloon. The General Secretary of the Communist Party told the newspaper men:

“It was the proudest moment of my life to meet our American boys on the field of Teruel and to know those we have sent have sealed the solidarity of the people against fascism by our small contributions which point the way for all Americans who stand by our democratic traditions and progressive aspira-

tions. The shame of American participation in the fascist blockade must be wiped out by American help in every form to the Spanish Republic.”

Describing his meeting with the American volunteers in Spain, he said:

“I felt a multiplied confidence that fascism will be smashed in America before it can bid for power.”

It was Browder who said then, in returning to America in February, 1938, what every American knows now was true, and what was an expression of the highest patriotism:

“We must . . . exert our influence to rouse the British and French people to break with the Rome-Berlin-Tokio Axis, and establish governments that will cooperate with us and not with the fascists. That means we must work with the Peace Coalition in Britain, the potential bloc of the anti-fascist Conservatives, the Liberals and the Labor Party, and pledge our help to them if they set up an anti-fascist government. That means we must work with the Front Populaire in France, the anti-Daladier Radicals, the Socialists, the Communists and the great French labor movement—which has just called Daladier to account in the glorious general strike—and promise them our help when they set up the new government of the People’s Front.

“If Japan is not halted in the Far East, however, she may still upset the applecart for the United States and turn the scales against us; she may go further and step over the line that divides the Far East from the Far West. But Japan cannot do this while the Chinese people are still fighting. And the Chinese peo-

ple will fight much better if the United States cut off the supplies with which Japan is conducting her war of conquest.”*

But Browder was no idle commentator. Then and there he forecast some events that have since shaken the world; he spoke of the events that we now call “Pearl Harbor” *four years in advance* of their occurrence:

“A continuance of isolation policies by the United States will surely convince the arrogant militarists of Tokio that now is the time for them to take over the Philippines, Hawaii, Guam and Alaska, as guarantees against the future, when the United States *might dare*.”

It was Browder who in July, 1939, again pleaded for the adoption of the policy of strength against the Hitler Axis, for the consolidation of the forces of Great Britain and the French Republic together with those of America and with the great new sources of strength to be found in the new and powerful socialist state and in the great awakening giant of China; he said:

“The fundamental interests of China, the Soviet Union and the United States are in profound harmony. . . .”

* * *

A year ago, Earl Browder passed his fiftieth birthday in prison, a prophet unwelcome to the powers of state, a prophet whose predictions have since become history. Our country was then nominally at peace, although it was in fact already plunged into a war which under the conditions of that time

was of tremendous portent of ruin for the American people. Although formally neutral, our country had already integrated itself economically with one side of the war. Our government had formed a political alliance that made it in fact a co-belligerent along with Great Britain, whose government had attempted through the Munich Treaty to pool its interests with Nazi Germany, and against the democracies of Europe.

The government of England still carried the heritage of those who had signed the Munich Treaty, who had conducted seven months of armed truce after the declaration of war during which its efforts had been devoted to the effort to “switch the war”; the heritage of the policy that had refused to ask the Polish and Baltic governments to permit the Red Army of the Soviet Union to enter their territory to fight Nazi Germany.

The United States, in short, was in a war in a condition of military and political indefensibility.

And Browder’s was a voice that called America to the course of its national interest:

“One and all, the leaders and ideologists of the Democratic and Republican Parties alike forget one ‘little thing.’ They forget that armaments and soldiers are nothing but *instruments* of foreign policy, that *by themselves they answer no question whatever; that without an intelligent foreign policy armaments only multiply confusion and danger, that with a wrong-headed and dangerous foreign policy armaments only rush our country more quickly and deeply into disaster. . . .*

“First of all, glance at various European countries which have

* Earl Browder, *Fighting for Peace*, International Publishers, p. 213.

been conquered by the Nazi invaders during the past year. Seriously ask yourself the question: were they destroyed by lack of armaments or by a foreign policy which went contrary to their national interests? There can be only one answer; armaments were adequate if there had been intelligent foreign policy, but armaments turned out to be useless because of distorted foreign policy. . . ."

And did the great leader of our Communist Party also foresee the present treason of Laval France? Yes:

"The outstanding example, however, is that of France. There was the classical land of 'military preparedness.' Ever since the last war it had bankrupted itself with armaments, fortifications and militarization. Only seven years ago it was the undisputed mistress of the whole continent of Europe, west of the Soviet border. After Hitler's rearmament of Germany, France even obtained a mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union. France was in an unconquerable position. But, following a disastrous foreign policy, the French Government itself destroyed its own defenses one by one. It helped Hitler and Mussolini destroy the Spanish Republic; it betrayed Ethiopia; it sold out its ally, Czechoslovakia, at Munich, it tore up its mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union. . . .

"And after it declared war, it *made* war not against Germany but against its own people, outlawing the French Communist Party and crushing the labor movement. Its enormous military machine was never even mobilized for action against the invaders. Most of its tanks were captured by Hitler, not at the front, but in the interior of France where they had been kept

for use against the French workers. Of what use were armaments to France, when it followed such a foreign policy?"*

* * *

In May, 1942, Earl Browder approaches his fifty-first birthday in the same prison, but it is not the same world outside. The United States is engaged in war within a strong coalition of great powers that are on the way toward cementing their unity for a struggle that means either life or death for all. Nations that were divided are becoming united in their fight which is no longer for Munich treason and no longer for a "switched war," sworn to fight for objectives which are essentially the objectives of freedom for the peoples of the world. The United States is a belligerent which has within its reach all of the guarantees of effective belligerency in the cause of democracy.

And Browder—

Not a single speech of Earl Browder made during the past seven years—from the time of Mussolini's rape of Ethiopia and the cowardly cringing of the League of Nations, up to this moment—that does not accord with the fully accepted and official position of the United States of America and its Allies; not a single political demand of the party he leads, but is now an essential part of the program of struggle for life of our America and her Allies.

Browder is clearly visible now as having consistently supported that course without which our national freedom cannot prevail.

But Browder is in prison.

Why?

* Earl Browder, *The Way Out*, pp. 108-09.

Browder is in prison because the government fears criticism from Martin Dies, Hamilton Fish, William R. Hearst, Charles E. Coughlin, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News*, and the other defeatists.

Hitler has friends: Martin Dies, who boasts that he was responsible for the far-fetched and artificial construction of the indictment against Earl Browder and his conviction (which is in defiance of law) and his sentence to an absolutely unprecedented and fantastic term of imprisonment, determined openly by the political consideration that the forces of reaction wanted the foremost leader of the Communist Party in prison for the effect that it would presumably have upon the course of political life in the country.

Where is the difference between this degradation and the depredation of Paris by bribe-giving Otto Abetz?

It is true that periodically without variation a new smear comes from the Abetz sewer in America against Earl Browder, a smear that expresses the hope that Hitler's way of dealing with the leaders of the working class shall be followed in regard to Earl Browder in the United States.

It was Quisling Dies that first demanded the Hitler course in regard to a Communist leader at the time that Browder was calling attention to the fact that Dies was working in harmony with the German Government's desires in America and was maintaining on the payroll of a Congressional Committee some of the shoddy adventurers who were doing the work of the German Em-

bassy; that Dies was the protector of Pelley and Gerald L. K. Smith and Charles E. Coughlin, the filthy executors of the German Government's "softening up" process in America.

It is singular that while the press of the Hearsts and the Coughlins and the Norman Thomases are pursuing a political line that tends to break down the morale of the American Army and Navy—playing upon every possible prejudice to arouse suspicion against Great Britain and especially against the Soviet Union, working in the same direction toward breaking off our friendship with the greatest and strongest powers that represent the chance for our nation to be able to overcome the gigantic Axis combine of Europe and Asia against us—the same press slanders and lies on behalf of the Hitler course in regard to Communist leaders in America that was followed in France.

The German Government desires that America shall pursue the course toward the Communist Party and its leaders that France pursued toward French Communists, that Mussolini pursued toward Italian Communists, that the Japanese militarists pursue toward Japanese Communists, that Hitler pursues toward German Communists. Up to this time, for more than one year, the German Nazis have been pleased by the course that the United States pursues in regard to the great Communist leader Earl Browder.

It was Hamilton Fish who praised in a speech in Congress a "friend" who he said was a high paid agent of the Japanese Government during

the time that the Pearl Harbor attack was being prepared; the Congressman Fish whose warm friend is Hitler's paid agent Viereck who inundated the United States mails with free circulation of propaganda prepared against this country by the German Government; the same Hamilton Fish whose employee George Hill accepted the German Government's money in the House Office Building. It was through the mouth of Hamilton Fish that Hitler demanded of America that the Communist Party be branded as a "foreign agent" and steps taken to suppress it; it was through Hamilton Fish that the demand is made that *justice be not done in the case of Earl Browder.*

* * *

America's cause suffers from this course, America's cause is weakened, America's good name is slandered. In all lands the question of alignment in the world struggle is posed; and everywhere the example of our own country's weaknesses is a source of like weakness.

For example:

The head of the "Special Section," exercising police authority of the Argentine Republic, recently issued a "Dies Committee" report in which most of the prominent Argentinians advocating collaboration with the United Nations were branded as subversive. The foremost Argentinian patriots, said this report, "carried on their activities through collateral organizations of the Communist Party which they formed inside workers' associations under the pretext of helping certain belligerent countries"—the "certain belligerent countries" being the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China. Acting President Ramon S. Castillo has just complied with the desires of the "ex"-Ambassador of Nazi Germany, Herr von Thermann, by issuing a special decree for the arrest and exile of Dr. Augusto Bunge, head of the Argentine Democratic Committee for Solidarity With and Aid to Free Peoples, the organization of Argentinian patriots who seek strength and independence for their country through cooperation with the democracies of the United Nations.

Dr. Augusto Bunge, former Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies and prominent in the Socialist Party for twenty years, together with twenty-six other Argentine citizens and some non-citizens, accused by the Argentinian "Dies Committee" report of having collected sums of money to promote the policy of collaboration of Argentina with the United Nations, were slated by Castillo to be imprisoned unless he and his democratic associates voluntarily accept exile from their native land. The decree of the Acting President states the necessity that they be "removed from the circles in which they carry on their pernicious, subversive propaganda."

The government of the United States, along with all of the forces of democracy of the world, is thus placed in peril of a new and far-reaching defeat in the metropolitan heart of the Southern half of the Western Hemisphere.

If there were a Herr von Thermann or a Herr Abetz in Washing-

ton, and if he were able to give orders to accomplish his purposes in this country, he would order our United States Government to take exactly the action that is being taken in the continued imprisonment of Earl Browder.

The people of Argentina, workers, democrats, patriots, brought into a most dangerous crisis, requiring every particle of high patriotic morale against the machinations of the powerful Hitler forces in their country, look northward and see that the government of the United States, asking them to be courageous against the demands of the arrogant "Dieses," "Fishes" and "Coughlins" of their country, does not refuse to bend to the demand of the Dieses and the Fishes and the Coughlins of its own land.

Why is it that we have a right to demand the correction of this wrong not merely and not so much for the sake of Earl Browder as for the sake of the country itself—the whole people of these United States?

The very heart and core of Browder's contribution to the great nationwide awakening for struggle against the Hitler slavery is toward the consolidation of the American people in the great national front of unity and war to victory.

Certainly contemptible is the sly attempt made by perennial supporters of Hitler in America to picture our case as though we made the demand for Browder's release as a "condition" for our support of our country's course in fighting for its life. Such a false idea originates quite naturally in the gutters of Tammany politics in New York, and

a little of the smell of it occasionally is encountered.

There is no condition in the unswerving political course of the Communist Party. This party is guided by principle and cannot be guided in any other way. If this were not true, there would be no need of the Communist Party; it would suffice to have merely a gang of political guerrillas thriving on the kind of politics that is supported by the prostitute columnists of venal newspaper agents; the kind of politics that sets up the special interests of giant corporations and millionaire crooks such as Annenberg as *conditions* for finding holy and pure patriotic reasons to throw elections one way or another.

It was in such a sewer of political corruption that "conditions" were granted in a set-up controlled by Otto Abetz, for the course of various bourgeois political parties of France, which caused overnight a whole series of little columnists on venal Paris newspapers to begin to write in favor of breaking up France's relationship of mutual aid and reliance upon military cooperation with the only power in Europe that was able to make it possible for France to live, the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party's demand for the release of Earl Browder does not place his release as a "condition" for its political course; and it would not, for any consideration whatsoever, vary by the breadth of a hair that political course in the war of national survival; the party of Earl Browder could not cease to be such a party of principle.

Our demand for the righting of the hideous wrong that is in

the imprisonment of Earl Browder is an integral part of our consistent political course.

It is the duty of all patriotic Americans to insist upon the release of Browder for the same reason that it was necessary for French patriots, in the hideous days of treason of 1939 and 1940, to oppose with all their strength the contemptible course of the political cliques corrupted by German appeasement, who sold the beautiful France to the bribe-giver of Hitler in Paris even up to the minute when war was formally declared on September 3, 1939, when the loathsome agency of Hitler moved back across the Rhine but left in Paris a sufficiently powerful machine of corruption to control ultimately the effective military policy of France.

It is the duty of all patriotic Americans to do otherwise than the French prostitutes of Hitler did.

The German Government wanted the French Communist Deputies ousted from the French Parliament that still stank with the bribes of Otto Abetz; and while Germany was in formal state of war with France Hitler's will was done in Paris and the strongest and bravest Frenchmen were hunted by the French police during the whole period when the corruption invoked by Hitler held the paralyzed body of France for the *coup de grace*.

The workers of the United States do not want our country to go the way of pitiful, miserable France. The workers of the Latin American half of the Western Hemisphere do not want the workers of the United States to let this country go to a

wreck that would pull all the Hemisphere down to hell with it.

Not yet one-tenth of the momentum for war that is necessary for our very national life has been attained by our America. Those who dampen enthusiasm and confuse the meaning of our democratic cause and degrade the courage of the common cause through fear that a simple justice to the leader of the Communist Party will displease the friends of Hitler in America—are dangerously close to the road to ruin.

The "Free Earl Browder Conference" at the end of March was one of the most significant events in labor history; let those underestimate it who have no historic sense—who live in the past when there was no such labor movement as that which we have now.

One-fifth of the entire trade union movement of the United States has demanded that Earl Browder be freed of the shamefully unjust sentence—2,000,000 men and women. They didn't stop work to do it; they were and are engaged in uninterrupted production to win the war—and they know that the courageous leader of the Communist Party is one of the first and best exponents of the policy to which they and their country are devoted.

The leader of the Communist Party, Earl Browder, is that American who above all others has shown himself a master of the scientific instrument of Marxian theory and practice. We know that the majority of our people—most of the men and women of the intellectual world, of the sciences, arts and other professions, of political reform,

—do not subscribe to the Marxist view of the laws of motion of society. But it is undoubtedly true by this time that the main body of these men and women would not want history to record that the ablest and foremost student, exponent and leader of the workers' movement who takes this view of our historic development was tortured and his body broken in prison during the fateful time of 1942 while our nation is gripped in the greatest crisis of all time.

* * *

We think of Ben Franklin's treaty with France of February 6, 1778. But before the signing of this treaty there was an interesting prologue.

The young Lafayette met Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee and Silas Dean, representatives of the revolutionary American Republic in Paris, and arranged with Silas Dean to go with a little band of volunteers to fight for the American cause.

The King of France learned of the expedition that Lafayette was fitting out in the Harbor of Bordeaux, and issued an order forbidding Lafayette to proceed. The British Ambassador demanded the arrest of Lafayette and the seizure of his ship. The young French leader Lafayette was arrested, but escaped from custody and slipped across the border to Spain "in disguise," as the historians say; his friends got the ship out of Bordeaux at night and sailed to a Spanish port where the young commander Lafayette joined his men and set out for America, while the King of France issued a second warrant, a *lettre de cachet* for his arrest. A difference was that Lafayette

used a false passport, while Earl Browder used a lawful passport under his own name.

Lafayette landed near Georgetown, S.C., and on August 1, 1777, clasped hands with Washington in Philadelphia, received his commission and went out to fight for our country and for human progress in command of a body of mixed volunteers of Americans that was called a division, though it was only about the size of the little group comprised in the Lincoln and Washington Battalions that gathered in the hollow between trees to listen to Earl Browder on September 6, one hundred and sixty years later in Spain.

* * *

It is consciousness of the danger to America that motivates the growing demand of millions of Americans that the indecent wrong that was done in regard to Earl Browder shall be undone.

It may be that many years from now someone may attempt to reply to history: "Oh, you see, the reason we tried to break and destroy Earl Browder in prison was that when he came back across the ocean from the Civil War in Spain, he presented a passport which, though beyond criticism in itself, was shown to have behind it a wrong word written on an application blank some years before, which word 'none' according to the learned legal authorities, was to be construed—"

But history will look upon you across the chasm of these years and will look at Pétain, and then back at you, and will ask, not only "What did you do to Earl Browder?"—but also "What did you do to your country in 1942?"

EARL BROWDER AND ERNST THAELMANN

BY HANS BERGER

ERNST THAELMANN, the leader of the German Communists, has been in a Nazi prison for eight years. After the experiences of the Leipzig Reichstag Fire trial the Nazis never dared to try him. They knew that this man, whose mighty spirit and will cannot be broken, would utilize any hearing to hurl the truth, which they dread, into their faces. They had enough of Dimitroff, they did not want to try it again with Thaelmann.

Why Ernst Thaelmann has been held in prison eight years by the Nazis is clear. They fear this irreconcilable enemy of the Nazi dictatorship. They fear his influence on the workers and the tremendous respect which he enjoys. The spirit of Ernst Thaelmann today animates hundreds of thousands of German Communists and their supporters among the masses, who have never ceased to struggle against the Nazi dictatorship even under the most difficult conditions, and who are conscious of their especially great responsibility at this time.

Everyone understands why the Nazis keep Ernst Thaelmann, the mortal enemy of the National-Socialist dictatorship, in jail. But who can understand why Earl Browder,

the mortal enemy of the Hitler regime, is held in an American prison? For Hitler to leave Thaelmann in prison—who could expect anything else of Hitler? But that Earl Browder should remain in prison while he and the party he leads support to the utmost of their strength the liberation war of the American people against the Nazi-Fascist Axis is in preposterous contradiction to the whole situation.

Earl Browder is no stranger to the German workers. No one in the United States has assisted the underground movement in Germany against Hitler as much as Earl Browder has. Since Hitler came to power, Browder, until his own incarceration, always found ways of giving the most determined fighters against the Nazi dictatorship substantial support. Earl Browder, as an American and a Communist, enjoys the highest respect, the greatest appreciation, among the heroes of the underground struggle against Hitler. They too are allies of the American people. They fight in Germany for the same purpose as that for which the United Nations and the American people are

fighting, to destroy the Hitler dictatorship.

The Nazi propaganda tries to make the German people believe that the United States is fighting not to liberate the peoples but to increase the power of American millionaires. The Nazi dictatorship speculates on the fact that the German people have no more love for American than for German millionaires. This lying propaganda is of course combated systematically by the underground fighters: millions of Germans are coming to understand the just character of the war being waged by the United Nations. *But how much easier it would be if tomorrow the American Communist Earl Browder were released from prison and explained to the German workers, over the radio, the real aims of the war being waged by the American people!*

The German people are now hearing much about Martin Dies. They must get the impression that this Martin Dies is one of the most important personages in American life, master of life and death, as it were. This false impression is very useful for the Hitler propaganda. For it must be very difficult for the German workers, who have their bitter experiences with the tactic of incitement against the Communists on the part of the Nazis, to reconcile the fact that this hater of labor and all that is progressive can play so decisive a role in the time of the liberation war of the American people, while at the same time Earl Browder, like Ernst Thaelmann, is kept in prison. That is not easy to understand even in

America; one can imagine how hard it must be for the German workers to understand.

The German workers, *the decisive force* in the internal fight against the Hitler dictatorship, know that no Communist will defend an imperialist war. The German workers know from their experience that a Communist may be persecuted and killed, but he will not advocate a war which is waged in the imperialist interest, nor will he support a government which wages such a war. On the other hand, they know equally well that the Communists will participate to the last drop of their blood in a just war, a war of national survival and national liberation such as is being waged against the Nazi-fascist Axis, by the United Nations.

Can anyone doubt that Earl Browder's propaganda to Germany would be of tremendous importance for the clarification of the German masses? Can anyone doubt that it would be of the greatest importance if Earl Browder could begin his campaign of broadcasts to Germany with these words:

"Attention, German workers, German soldiers! Earl Browder speaking, leader of the Communist Party, U.S.A., who was released from prison yesterday. I, an American, speaking in the interests of my and your people, declare: I was and am a Communist. As a Communist I support to the fullest the national war effort of the American people and the American government, headed by President Roosevelt. Not that there is any-

thing communistic about the government; it has nothing to do with Communism, it is a bourgeois government. But I support it in the interests of the American people, in the interests of all peoples. My country, in common with Britain the Soviet Union, China and all the peoples attacked and threatened by Hitler and the Axis, is fighting to free the world from bloody fascism. I, thinking precisely as does my old friend Ernst Thaelmann, to whom behind the walls of his prison I send my warmest greetings, say to you, 'Rise, strike Hitler in the back, employ sabotage in the factories, go over to the Red Army, go over to our A.E.F. which we are sending to join the British in a Western Front. We fight in common with you, we too fight for your liberation from the Nazi dictatorship, together with the freedom and democratic liberties of all oppressed peoples, just as we fight for the

freedom and national survival of our own country."

But Earl Browder cannot speak, because Martin Dies speaks. He cannot speak, yet many defeatists and fifth column traitors, who should be in jail, still enjoy freedom of action to plot against our nation. How shameful! The world is in flames, men and nations throughout the world are battling desperately for freedom, and because of a technical violation a man like Earl Browder—the staunch patriot and anti-fascist, leader of the Communist Party, which is giving its all for victory over Hitler and Hitlerism—the man whose voice would have so much weight in Germany too, is kept in prison.

That Hitler keeps Ernst Thaelmann in prison, everybody understands. But who can understand why the prison gates are not opened at once for Earl Browder?

LABOR AND THE NATIONAL WAR EFFORT

*(Report to the Plenary Meeting of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.,
held in New York, April 4-5, 1942.)*

BY ROY HUDSON

THERE are two ways of measuring the extent to which organized labor and our country generally have taken up the task of winning the war. One way is to measure progress by a peacetime yardstick, or in terms of the illusion that time is our ally, and by a time schedule that calls for decisive action in 1943 or 1944. In terms of these yardsticks we could rightly declare that tremendous progress has been made in converting industry to war production, increasing production, the participation of labor in all phases of the war effort, and in bringing about united labor action.

But we know that this is a false and dangerous yardstick. Time is our ally only if we act *now*! The danger is now! The decisive battles will take place and are taking place now. The next few months may decide the outcome of the war. America and the United Nations are faced with a future that can bring disaster—military defeats, that may even lead to defeat in the coming

months. America has not yet taken all the steps necessary to meet this grave danger.

But there also exist the possibilities for the United Nations to deal blows to the Axis that will mark the beginning of the end for Hitler, and the turning point of the war in favor of victory for the Allies. These are the grim facts, and America must be won to face them and adopt as its guiding policy the slogans: *Invade Europe Now! Smash Hitler in 1942! An A.E.F. to join the Red Army's Offensive against Hitler! For Action by America and Britain to Open Up a Western Front! Men, Ships, Guns, Planes, Tanks—Everything for this purpose in the coming few months!*

Measured in terms of this yardstick, we will find that not all has been done that could have been done in the last four months; that the pace is still too slow and that the labor movement is still not fully aware of the urgency of the moment, is not yet imbued with the offensive spirit necessary to assure

victory. We will find that there is still too much waiting, too much hesitation, and not enough initiative.

Let us be specific. With some exceptions, and worthy exceptions—is it not a fact that the trade union movement, the A. F. of L. and most of the C.I.O., have not as yet taken a definite position for a military and a political policy which alone can assure victory to the United Nations and our country?

Even the recent extraordinary C.I.O. conference, which adopted decisions of the greatest importance, which created the opportunities for taking the offensive against the appeasers did not, however, speak out on the fundamental problem before the nation. It limited itself to support for the offensive but did not call for that offensive *now* and for the policy of opening up a second front in Europe *now*, for the policy of recognizing where the main fire must be directed and against whom.

There is still too much feeling in the labor movement that the policy of the offensive and the Western Front is a special proposal of the U.S.S.R. or the Communists. But it really is a life-and-death question for America; yet some progressives are apologetic when this question is raised. The progressives and first of all the Communists must not be on the defensive on this issue. They must, so to speak, take the offensive in fighting for the offensive. What is more, each party committee in this period must look upon this as the objective of all our work, not merely another one of our tasks. Some of

us have tackled the problem of the offensive and the second front as if it were socialism, something to be achieved in the remote future.

Let us take another question closely related to the offensive and the second front. What has labor done to help establish ever more firmly the unity of the United Nations, and within the United Nations the firmer alliance of the three strongest powers, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain? Here we must say that the alliance between the U.S.S.R. and Britain is much more advanced than that between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The working class of Great Britain played a very important role in helping make that possible. The establishment of the Anglo-Soviet trade union committee is a symbol of that. But our trade union movement, again with some notable exceptions limited to a number of more progressive C.I.O. organizations, has not as yet taken up the task seriously of working for such a firm alliance between our nation and Soviet Russia. Similarly it has made but the slightest beginning toward establishing closer relationships between the trade union movements of the U.S.A., Britain and the Soviet Union, and to secure the affiliation of the American labor movement to the joint Anglo-Soviet trade union committee.

The appeasers, the defeatists and the fifth columnists are hard at work against the offensive policy, against the unity of the United Nations, trying to promote internal disunity by putting class against class, fomenting race hatred, by the

use of the weapon of red-baiting. The Reynoldses, the Smiths, the Dieses and the Hoffmans are carrying out the work of the Cliveden Set in Congress, while its storm troop leaders, the Coughlins, Gerald Smiths, Pelleys, Christianses and Nobles, are carrying on their treasonable work among the masses. Reactionaries generally and adherents of business-as-usual, even if they do not desire the same results as the appeasers and defeatists, are nevertheless working with those forces, as is shown by the recent attacks on the labor movement which are aimed at promoting disunity, obstructing production and weakening the war effort.

On these internal questions the labor movement has been more clear, more outspoken and active. In some cases, as on the Smith Bill, this is true of both the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. In some cases, however, as on the Dies Committee the A.F. of L. top leadership unfortunately remained silent, thus helping to bring about later the attack against itself through the Smith Bill.

In the fight for the release of Comrade Browder, it is encouraging to note that increasing sections of both the A.F. of L. and C.I.O., especially the latter, are recognizing that this case does not concern merely Browder or the Communists, but that the freedom of Earl Browder is essential to the war effort, to national unity, and the rights of labor. One may hope that the national leaders of both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. will soon be convinced of the necessity to urge upon

the President the release of our leader and comrade.

Labor has already made enormous contributions to the war effort and has during this period made advances of the greatest significance; it has made big steps forward in the establishment of labor unity. Today labor's prestige and influence beyond other groups in the camp of national unity are growing. The relationship between the government and labor is on an entirely new basis without parallel in the history of America, although it is nowhere near what it needs to and should be. And yet, it is also true that in nearly every case national unity has been strengthened and labor has marched forward only after attacks of a major character were met and defeated. Labor and the government defeated the dangerous threat of John L. Lewis against labor unity. Labor, the government and the people have checked the reactionary drive in Congress and strengthened national unity. But in both cases it was the enemies of the nation that had the initiative.

Now, it is good that labor has had sufficient strength and leadership to defeat these attacks. Let the government and the people recognize that these attacks were against the war. But would not the nation's unity be even stronger, would not labor's contributions have been even greater, if it had not had to spend so much time and effort defeating attacks before it could march forward? And this could have been the case if labor had constantly fought on the basic ques-

tions, if the camp of national unity had always had the initiative, if the battle had been carried to the enemy. We say these things, not to minimize the achievements, which have tremendous significance, but in order to stress how labor can make even greater contributions in strengthening the war effort and in dealing with the nation's enemies.

Do all these things mean that labor is lagging behind the rest of the people? No. The contrary is true. Of all groups, labor is undoubtedly better mobilized, more "converted" to war tasks in production and in other ways than any other single group in the nation. It can also be said that labor has carried out every single task demanded by the government and that the business-as-usual attitude of some employers, as well as the appeasement and reactionary circles through their demoralizing and defeatist propaganda, by their attacks on labor are hindering the trade unions in their full mobilization for the war effort.

But if we are to get at the bottom of this lag and understand its meaning, then it must be remembered that the working class does not only furnish the largest numbers to the armed forces and itself constitutes the army of production, but that it is the most progressive and advanced class, having the greatest stake in the outcome of the war. It is the most steadfast, conscious and determined element within the nation, fighting always for the nation's freedom and independence. *As such it has the re-*

sponsibility to help determine the political and even military policies of the nation, and not only bring about unity in its own ranks, but through its policies and action help bring about and maintain the maximum national unity.

Does labor fully understand that this is its role and that these are its tasks in the prosecution of the war? It must be said, not fully. These responsibilities have been thrown upon 11,000,000 workers who are union conscious, but who only in recent years have begun to think and act as an independent political force. Today the war and the fate of the nation require that the weight and voice of these 11,000,000 workers be heard and felt in determining every policy and measure that is being or should be undertaken by the government in the prosecution of the war.

But while labor recognizes that the war is just and that labor must refrain from strikes and help increase production and finance the war, it does not yet fully understand that it has the responsibility and duty to help decide how the war shall be waged and won. This insufficient realization of its role explains why labor during these four months did not play a greater role in the nation, why it did not more rapidly carry through its attacks and why the fifth column and reactionaries were able to make some headway.

This is the fundamental reason for lagging behind and this is what must be changed. It can be changed because we have a labor movement that is being transformed daily,

that has made great headway in throwing off its shackles that held it captive and impotent for generations, a labor movement that has already emerged as an independent political force. It is a labor movement that is militant, alive, progressive, seeking understanding. Confronted with the problems arising out of the war, labor can achieve a political understanding of its role in weeks and months that would take years in a normal period. It is the great task of us Communists, a section of this working class, who have already achieved this understanding, to help make labor conscious of its role and to enable it to fulfill its historic task in the war of our nation.

What then must be done to achieve the maximum mobilization of the working class and through it the whole of the American people, for an all-out effort in war production, civilian defense, financing the war, in raising morale, in opening the Western front? We can summarize the major political tasks of labor as follows:

1. It is necessary for the trade union movement to adopt and fight for the only policy that will bring victory—the offensive, the opening of a second front in Europe.

2. It is necessary for the labor movement to work for the maximum unity of the United Nations, for a full alliance between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., for maximum aid to the Allies, the U.S.S.R., Britain and China and the other free nations.

3. It is necessary for the Ameri-

can trade unions to join the British-Soviet Trade Union Committee, and in the coming weeks we should try and ensure that from every local union throughout the country will come the demand, "Invite the British and Soviet trade unions to have the next meeting of their council in America!"

4. It is necessary for labor to take the offensive against the appeasers and also against their agents and influence in the labor movement.

5. It is necessary for the labor movement to fight to make these policies the policies of all people and of the government.

6. To accomplish all these things, it is necessary to explain, explain and explain, to activize and to activize—to activize in order to involve every single worker in some phase of the war effort, to make the trade unions direct participants in the prosecution of the war, to bring millions and millions of workers into activity, and by doing so teach them how to determine the prosecution of the war effort. Explain, explain ceaselessly in order to establish the necessary understanding of the character of the war, the danger to the nation, the urgency of the situation and to help establish consciousness in the ranks of labor and the role of the working class in the prosecution of the war.

* * *

Let us now turn to the question of *labor unity*. The most significant event in the labor movement since Pearl Harbor was the

establishment of the Labor Victory Board as a first vital step upon a national scale in bridging of the gap, the split that has existed in the ranks of labor for some years now. This is not only a significant development for the labor movement but it was an event of major political importance in the life of the nation because it helped bring about a degree of labor unity in united support of the war effort and at the same time constituted a form of recognition upon the part of the government of the role of labor and its relation to the prosecution of the war.

It is true that this step forward did not yet result in achieving organic unity, did not yet secure labor representation in the Cabinet which is demanded for successful prosecution of the war. These things were not achieved, but what was achieved is an important step in this direction.

Every week has seen a further development of this movement for strengthening labor's united support for the war and its relationship with the government—evidenced in joint action of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. on the Smith Bill; evidenced in the various statements of Green upon labor unity; evidenced in the significant speech of Dan Tobin; evidenced especially in some of the more recent addresses of President Murray, and by the decisions and work of the recent C.I.O. conference which brought forward proposals that can lead toward a strengthening of labor's united support for the war. The C.I.O. conference demonstrated

not only that the C.I.O. remains the most progressive force in the labor movement, but also that it exerts a tremendous influence upon the developments within the A.F. of L., thus constantly narrowing the differences and increasing the understanding between the two great labor organizations.

The interests of unity would have been best served if this conference, instead of a C.I.O. conference, had been a joint conference bringing together the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. representatives from local and international unions throughout the country into a win-the-war conference. Such a conference is still necessary, and we hope that it can be realized soon. It is to be hoped that the conference or mass meeting arranged jointly by the C.I.O. Central Council and the A.F. of L. Central Council in Pittsburgh at which William Green and Murray are scheduled to speak on April 7, marking the first time in public gatherings since the split that the leaders of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. come together on the same platform at a joint conference of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., will signalize a further step forward in bringing together labor into a more united compact body in support of the war effort.

* * *

What have been the main weaknesses and what are those central tasks now in the fight for labor unity? The weaknesses lie mainly in the fact that the movement for local, state and city unity bodies,

which at one time was sweeping the country, has come to a standstill. Perhaps this is due to illusions that now that unity has come to exist on top, unity below will come about automatically. If we want to put our finger upon the key question now, that is the place.

Those committees, and there are many, that have been established (unity committees established for one purpose or another) should be consolidated and further developed. These committees down below should become more permanent bodies that will be really the voice of united labor on all issues affecting the war effort.

These committees may still have to be set up on the most limited of issues in some places as, for example, on merely the sale of defense bonds or participation in defense activities. Nevertheless, while it is essential to utilize any issue to bring about, in some form or another, a furtherance of labor unity, the problem is, not to stop there. These committees will have importance in the long run, on the basis of being the bodies for regulating the problems that arise between the individual unions and the two labor movements. Those will be of secondary importance. But these must be the instruments through which labor discusses the problems of war, undertakes to work out a program that will ensure the maximum mobilization of the labor movement on the problems of the war. They will more than ever be those instruments through which labor demonstrates its desire, its demands for an offen-

sive upon the military front, for opening a second front.

The time for resolutions as the all-important thing is past; there is hardly a union in the country where you could not get a resolution adopted on anything dealing with the war. The important thing today is action to demonstrate that the rank and file of organized labor are behind the resolutions that are adopted in the unions, are behind the statements of their individual officers.

And the advice given by President Roosevelt is one that could be well heeded, that instead of so much criticism it would be good to see meetings, demonstrations, parades of labor and the people throughout the country in support of the war effort.

Finally, in regard to labor unity, let me stress that as a result of these activities in consolidating and further strengthening the unity movement in the localities we must bring about a situation where the most natural thing in the world will be the demand for a national *win-the-war conference of labor*, to demonstrate that the movement for unity is so strong, embraces such wide sections of the people below, that the Labor Victory Committee in Washington will be able to recognize and give leadership to such a movement and such sentiments.

The progressive forces within the A.F. of L. have a great responsibility to see that this movement develops satisfactorily. They have the responsibility for arousing the membership of the A.F. of L., for winning them for support of the

Victory Committee, for bringing forward the program of the A.F. of L. membership to its representatives upon the Labor Victory Committee and also for strengthening the support within the A.F. of L. for the position of those leaders on the Labor Victory Board and others who are the most outspoken in their support to the war and for greater and higher degrees of unity between the C.I.O. and A.F. of L.

* * *

Despite the political defeats, of which there have been several, dealt to Lewis and Hutcheson, these men are, if anything, more dangerous to the war and to labor's unity than they ever were. That must be clearly established. We must more clearly understand how the struggle will develop against these forces, but first, we must remember, the development of the struggle to expose and isolate completely these forces and their influence over the labor movement is a decisive question.

There is every indication that both Lewis and Hutcheson are driving in the direction that seems to have its objective of paralyzing labor either through the threat of bringing about a split or of actually carrying through such a threat. What will be one of their central issues that they will try to build up? It is indicated in the demagogic statement of Ray Edmonson*: because elements within the C.I.O. were blocking labor unity. That is the defense he puts forth for his split-

ting maneuver! And, therefore, because he ostensibly stands for labor unity he doesn't want to be a partner to all those forces who are "blocking" labor unity! That will be their line. They hope to get away with it. How? On the basis of confusion, weaknesses, and mistakes of the labor movement. *The main way to meet this attack is to strengthen the fight for labor unity*—first of all, along the lines mentioned, for the progressive forces, the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. leadership, to have the initiative in the fight for labor unity. I might mention that Edmonson's statement offers a medium for taking the offensive too, for discussing the issue within the central labor bodies throughout the country.

The second point is, to defeat Lewis and Hutcheson means not to provide them with issues. They build their platform on neglected issues. Any fundamental issue that is neglected anywhere is exploited by them. Therefore, labor is required to meet the issues as they arise, to develop greater initiative than ever on the fundamental war policies, to develop and strengthen labor unity in the struggle, and to wipe out within the labor movement every tendency toward labor "as usual" policies; for, whenever trade union leaders approach policy on the basis of a peace-time policy, that is where Lewis jumps in. That is where he tries to build up an issue. Failure to wipe out these tendencies can be fatal.

We must learn how to face all problems and all difficul-

* Former regional director for the C.I.O. in downstate Illinois.—Editor.

ties on the basis of the war needs, to win the workers for facing them in that manner, and to develop the essential economic program necessary for the war, that will deprive Lewis of all of his hopes for developing disunity in the ranks of the workers on the basis of being the "champion" of their economic interests.

Furthermore, on some of those questions, where Lewis has been promoting disunity and strife within the labor movement and placing the labor movement on the defensive, it is about time that the labor movement forced him on the defensive. Take for instance, the so-called "Construction Workers Committee"—which is no organization; for its exists only to destroy. This is a vital issue with regard to the farmers. Where the C.I.O. can be influenced in that direction, it should follow that policy carried through by the N. Y. C.I.O. Council, which publicly dissociated itself from the policy of Lewis, and which declared for a real policy for the farmers, for seeing the farmers united and not divided.

Likewise, in connection with the building trades, the biggest service that we can do is to support every progressive move in the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. throughout the country, for the purpose of putting an end to the harmful activities of this committee. Yes, the C.I.O. progressives can well afford to cooperate with the A.F. of L. in upholding the jurisdiction and the organization of legitimate trade unions within this industry, and that is essentially the A.F. of L. And if this

is done it is bound to meet with good results from the A.F. of L. In California, for instance, the C.I.O. union refused to go along with Denny Lewis' outfit and cooperated with the A.F. of L.; as a result there was no "construction workers union." On the other hand, the A.F. of L. union went along with the C.I.O. in its organizational activities among the Oil Workers and thus both the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. benefited. Both their organizational efforts were strengthened and the disruptive efforts of this construction workers union were thwarted. As quickly as possible, through such type of work, we should help bury such misnamed outfits as this.

Likewise, in regard to District 50 of the miners' union. Without going too much into the question, we can say that there is every reason for giving support to that force within District 50 whose democracy is threatened, who more and more begin to put forward demands for an international union of chemical workers, which certainly is justified as a bona fide trade union demand; and all aspirations along such lines merit support. Such a policy will assuredly result in Lewis' being put on the defensive instead of placing the labor movement all the time on the defensive.

Finally, let me say that all these things will mean nothing so long as Lewis is able to continue to prevent six hundred thousand miners from expressing their will, and their sentiments and their demands. These workers are for the nation.

They are for the war. They are for the C.I.O., because without them there would be no C.I.O. They have no opportunity to make their will felt and we have a great job to do to help them solve this problem, and certainly if that is not done in the Miners' Convention in the autumn, if there is not registered a rank-and-file revolt such as Lewis has never seen before, and so broadly that this will be a revolt he will not crush—if that is not done, we shall not have fulfilled our duties.

* * *

As to the question of production—What is the problem? Before our last National Committee meeting and for some time afterward, the problem was the struggle to obtain the adoption of an adequate production program. That is no longer the problem. Today there exists a production program that is the basis for really producing those materials needed by the nation. What is that plan? Well those who always want blueprints will find in it every *i* dotted and every *t* crossed, and will have to say that if its provisions are carried out, America will produce the weapons necessary to defeat Hitler. There's the plan—the Production-Drive plan! The plan calls for conversion, for 25 per cent increase in production, for establishment of labor-management committees. Therefore the problem no longer is that of securing the adoption of a program. The fight is to acquire the application of this program with the least possible delay. Organized labor has put its shoulder

to the wheel and we can already record plant after plant where production records are being shattered. Thus, in Pittsburgh only last week, the War Department awarded an honor to a group of steel workers who had shattered the world record for production of pig iron.

I need not go into detail about this. These developments show what can be done, how tremendous forces can be unleashed for production. But that which is possible, that which is still the exception, must become the rule. Let us bear in mind that only the beginning has been made toward putting the nation on a war production basis, toward harnessing the tremendous industrial, economic forces of the country to the chariot of output.

What are the problems generally? First, as to the technical questions. There will be more and more such questions that the workers and the people as a whole will have to settle. Working out the plan, figuring out how such and such a machine may produce more or how more machines can be gotten into this or that factory. All these technical problems now will become matters for real study where the initiative and ingenuity of the workers will have to be aroused. We will have to place great stress upon this question, and it will become necessary in many places not only for the workers and unions to study these problems, but even hire technical experts for advice.

We must emphasize that in these times the study of these questions, knowledge of the plants, the working out of all the technical prob-

lems, assume greater and greater importance and are a new factor in the situation, for we remember that the workers in the unions would say, "Well, those bosses know their own plants." But when we talk with the bosses we have to know the plants better than they. This technical question, which becomes a major problem in production, is at the same time political. The political aspect of the problem of production is still unsolved. What does this mean? It means that the problem of instilling within labor the necessary enthusiasm, of cultivating its initiative, still must be done. That is not done, however, by adopting a program by officers on top, but through the political struggle. The masses more than ever must be linked up with the question of the offensive and the military effort. In connection with this comes working out of the union's program.

The second aspect of the political struggle is the fight to win the employers for cooperation and for setting up of the labor committees. It will require a struggle to set up these committees and to get them functioning. Here the problem is how the fight shall be conducted, because in many cases there will be reluctance on the part of the employers; there will be resistance, suspicion, and not too great a degree of cooperation in the beginning. How, therefore, is the struggle to develop? Shall it develop against the employers? I would put the question the other way. The struggle must be developed on the basis of a fight to win the employers for cooperation, not against them.

The question of production is not something that just involves a given group of workers and a given employer; it is a problem that involves the nation, that involves the government. Therefore, the union's approach must be based upon cooperation with the employer and the government. The basis of the war program measures rests on the sanction of the government in the long run. And here it is necessary to understand clearly the role of the government in connection with the entire war production program, if the battle for production and conversion is to be won. We can put the question this way: Without effective action by the government to establish a certain production program for each industry and plant and to secure the execution of their plans and decisions, the battle of production cannot be won. But this also means that labor has the duty to help guarantee that the government can and will perform this role and, therefore, labor's role and approach to all these questions must be one based upon how to bring this about. This means that labor must fight to resolve all unsolved problems, not in direct conflict with the employers alone, but, first of all, by always being sure of the facts; secondly, by an approach that will help enlist the support of labor and the people and which will be based upon the need of action by the government and the duty of labor and the employers to cooperate with the government on the basis of the execution of the nation's war production program.

We come now to *the question of a war economy program*. Here, too,

in the main, labor has finally worked out and adopted a program on wages, the work-week and working hours based upon war conditions. But in regard to this question, it is especially important to note that up until recently labor's approach was still essentially a peacetime approach. Now the elements of a correct program are being developed. Now the problem is to secure its execution and to develop it further.

But in order to do this it is necessary to understand what labor means by the attitude it has adopted in connection with wages, hours, overtime pay and related questions. First of all, when labor says its policy will be based upon the need for maintenance of the workers' living standards in order that they may maintain their production efficiency, that does not mean freezing wages, it means that real wages must be measured by the yardstick of the war program, to assure the highest production of the workers; it means that room must be left especially for raising the living standard of the millions of workers in the low-income groups so that they can really produce to the extent that the nation requires.

Likewise, in regard to the question of the work week. Talk of raising the hours from forty to forty-eight before overtime pay begins is very arbitrary and has nothing to do with the actual hours of labor. For, if it is to be forty-eight hours, why not fifty-five or sixty? Let us remember what is the heart of the problem. The forty-hour week is the recognized standard. Actually longer hours are being worked, and when necessary the limit should be only

beyond which the efficiency of workers cannot be maintained. Another thing to remember when talking about lengthening the work-week is that there are still millions of workers of all degrees of skill unemployed in this country.

Likewise, it should be understood that overtime is not the source of the high cost of the production of war materials. On the contrary, is it not a fact that the longer the hours, the plants and the machines work, the less the cost of production, because it means that overhead is cut down, that investments which would be idle under other circumstances are being exploited to their full, that profits are greater, though not always accompanied by a decrease in the cost of the war materials?

In this respect we must take into account, too, what is a necessary program on profit control; certainly the solution is not 6 per cent, for 6 per cent means in many cases 100 per cent or 200 per cent, because when there is a rapid turnover profits pile up enormously. It is not 6 per cent but a real excess profits tax that is the correct approach to this question, to control not the percentage of profit but total profits, exorbitant salaries and "bonuses."

The second thing is to see that the adjustment of these matters is only one phase of the whole question of the economic program. Why? Because if matters stand as they are now what will happen? If there is not a system of rigid price control and democratic rationing in the next few weeks and months to meet the situation, we shall be faced with the fact that workers will not be able to buy the necessary things for

their living needs. The so-called high wages the workers are now getting will be insufficient to buy the ordinary necessities; nor will these be available the way things are being handled now.

If there is not a rigid excess profit control established, it will mean that the sacrifices of the workers will not go to help eliminate unnecessary cost of the war program and to speed up the program, but will go to increase profits. All this means what? That the trade unions—through whose efforts the program must be achieved—must come forward as more energetic fighters for the adoption of a government program which exists in its essentials but not as part of an integrated program, a government program on price control, on rationing, on excess profit control and a genuine people's tax program. These are the things that are necessary if we are not to be confronted soon with another crisis if we are not to give ammunition to the defeatists, to the Lewises.

* * *

We turn now to *the Negro question*. As on these other questions, we can say that the Negro problem is no longer a problem of educating the most advanced workers and the progressive forces to get them to face the situation. Today all of labor in one form or another has to face this question. Some of them for the first time in their lives have had to recognize the existence of the Negro question in our country. In more and more unions, in more and more industries it comes up as a practical question

for action. Our job is to help the labor movement, not only to act upon this question more quickly, but more effectively. It means strengthening the fight for jobs for the Negroes, for an end to the discrimination that bars them from work in the war industries, where they are so essential now. It means greater efforts on our part for the removal of all discriminatory practices. It means greater efforts for the trade union movement, which has organized hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the last year, not only to continue its organizational activities, but to make greater efforts to promote Negro trade union leaders to the most outstanding posts in the leadership.

Finally, as to the Negro question, labor must come forward, not as the defender of the abstract rights of the Negro people; it must be a powerful force, the champion, of the rights of the Negro people to have the type of relationship with the government, the political recognition, which the war requires in order to strengthen national unity. In one form or another, it is my belief the government will have to adopt a step similar to that taken in connection with the Labor Victory Committee, but in any event, labor has to champion the struggle in support of the Negro people for the recognition, the representation required for strengthening national unity in the war effort.

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Anyone who fails to see the importance of the women, in the war effort, fails the war effort. Not tens of thousands but millions of women

are and will be employed in the war production industry. The nation will have to have their services. Far greater attention will have to be given to this question than in the past, both by the labor movement and by the party.

* * *

The party must be able to develop a maximum of initiative in bringing forward to the masses its program and understanding regarding the problems of the war and the role of labor. This means, not to come to labor with a blueprint and attempt to cross the t's and dot the i's, but to establish the problem and an understanding of how to solve it. If we do that, the trade unionists will be the ones to show how to work out the solution of all the stated problems in practical terms.

We must be flexible and base ourselves not on the understanding of a section of the labor movement but upon the position of the decisive forces. There is no limit to what we should say, to what we should propose, but there is a limit to what we should always try to do, and that is, before we say we are going to do things, let us make sure that the labor movement is prepared to do it with us, and if it is not prepared, then we will have to work all the harder to win it for our proposals. We must endeavor to influence and determine the position of other forces, but not to think that we can disregard them and act independently of them. We are part of the labor movement; we should act with it but never replace it.

In criticizing the weaknesses and shortcomings of the labor movement, too, we must do it as part of the labor movement and not as a force separate from and independent of it. We must place more emphasis than ever upon making our criticisms through the channels of the unions. Our party should never set itself up as a standard of perfection, constantly criticizing the trade union movement from on top—from the Olympian heights. We should always act, not as an outside force, but as part of the labor movement.

The party has to stop thinking and acting as a party of 50,000 or 75,000 members. That we should wipe out of our memory; we must start thinking—every leader, every members of the party—as a party that has equal, if not greater, responsibilities, with every other force, equal responsibility with the Republican and the Democratic Parties, equal responsibility with the trade union movement.

We have this responsibility not because of our size—we are small; not because of our influence—it is growing, but it is still too small; we have this responsibility not because we have the leadership of the masses—we still have that to win. We have this responsibility because we more than any other force have the understanding of how the war can be won and because we are the advanced representative of that class which, by its work, devotion, self-sacrifice and its ability to collaborate with all other patriotic Americans, will guarantee victory for our nation.

STRENGTHEN THE WAR EFFORT BY BUILDING THE PARTY

BY JOHN WILLIAMSON

SINCE December 7 great changes have occurred in our country. The great majority of the people are united as never before in the struggle to defeat Hitler and the Axis powers. Collaboration of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. in the common war effort and especially to win the battle for production, has made great strides forward; our government has signalized the further need for strengthening national unity by establishing the Victory Labor Board, recommending the establishment of Joint Production Committees, and through Vice-President Wallace speaking out against the disruption of Dies; a great activization of millions of Americans in civilian defense and other war efforts has swept the nation. Internationally, unity of the nations of the Western Hemisphere against the Axis is in process of achievement; and on all the war fronts, especially the decisive Soviet front for the smashing of Hitlerism in 1942, great battles are taking place. On all of these fronts the American fighting men and their allies are giving a good account of themselves.

To all of this work the Commu-

nists have contributed without reserve. To suppose, however, that all the tasks necessary for winning the war—especially for smashing Hitler's bandit army by an offensive in 1942—have already been accomplished, would be a grave mistake. At no previous time was it so imperative to clarify the masses and their organizations, especially the trade unions, toward maximum contribution to the common war effort; to draw all the necessary conclusions from present-day events; to strengthen the role of labor and the people in order to strengthen national unity; and in all this to understand that the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard party of the working class is not diminished, but that it must necessarily be strengthened as an essential to the strengthening of national unity.

Today increasing numbers of workers are coming to understand the true role of the Communists in the interests of the workers and the nation. They not only recall that the Communist Party consistently advocated a policy aimed at weakening and crushing the anti-democratic and fascist forces and governments

in the world, but remember how accurate was its characterization of Munich and of the whole appeasement policy—and the dangers it held for America. Everyone today recognizes the correctness of all those, including prominently the Communists, who rallied support for Loyalist Spain and pointed out its relation to the national interests of the United States. Similarly with the struggle over years against such present-day fifth columnists as Dies, Moseley, Kuhn, Lindbergh, Coughlin, Wheeler and Nye.

Today the workers and large sections of the whole nation recognize the contribution and positive influence of the Communists on such vital issues as the characterization of the war as a just one in which the independence and national security of our country are at stake; the need for the closest collaboration and common fighting action between and by the U.S.A., the Soviet Union and Britain; the need for unity of the nations and peoples of the Western Hemisphere; the need for an effective war labor policy predicated on maximum increase in war production; and the struggle for the unity of all labor through defeat of the appeasers and through correction of all "trade-union-as-usual" practices.

This growing recognition of the role of the Communists in the national unity finds many concrete evidences. Among them are:

(a) The response of the heads of numerous city and state governments to the party's cooperation in the war effort;

(b) The absence of Red-baiting in

the great majority of trade unions and its defeat in a number of union conventions, with a growing recognition of the possibility of trade union and Communist collaboration on urgent issues of the day connected with winning the war;

(c) The participation of the party in community mobilizations for civilian defense, war bonds, and other Victory Program objectives;

(d) The election of Communist candidate Peter Cacchione to the New York City Council by Brooklyn with approximately 48,000 votes, although there are only about 5,000 Communists in that borough; and the splendid current campaign of George Krystalsky in Hamtramck, Michigan, where, after running eighth out of fifty candidates in the primary, he is part of the broad progressive-labor unity slate which unites all Win-the-War, New Deal and labor forces in the city;

(e) The broad response of outstanding Americans in all walks of life for the release of Comrade Browder. While undoubtedly the majority of labor, religious, political, professional and civil leaders endorsing Browder's freedom disagree with the Communist philosophy, it is also clear that the great majority of them take their stand because they recognize in Earl Browder a consistent antifascist, over and above the civil liberties issue involved.

It is also a fact that the peoples of all countries, including our own, are drawing new conclusions from the decisive and heroic role of the Soviet Union in the United Nations'

struggle against the Axis. It is becoming clear to the great majority that only the closest unity of the United States and Britain with the Soviet Union—its people, its government, its Army, its trade unions—makes victory over the Axis possible. A growing section of the population feel the premise of their old ways of thinking concerning the Soviet Union was false. And in closest connection with this, as they see the Communists energetically working for the interests of the American workers and the American nation, they are revaluing their attitude toward Red-baiting and anti-Communist demagoguery.

Because our party boldly fulfills its responsibilities to the people for the paramount objective of smashing the Axis armed forces, it is being recognized by many new workers, and being watched and studied by still greater numbers.

Organization and Education

To fulfill its responsibilities in contributing its maximum efforts to the nation, the party must strengthen itself both ideologically and organizationally.

What must be the essence of our organizational-educational activities? All our educational work must be directed toward creating the greatest clarity in our own ranks and of those sections of the mass movement which we can influence, in regard to our role today. It must be directed to the training and promotion of new forces which can bring this clarity to new masses with whom we are coming into contact. For, to be worth

anything, our educational work must result in that kind of party activity and membership which will press forward with the utmost energy the movement for national unity and victory.

In the same way, the essence of our organizational work must be to make our party and its membership a still more decisive factor in helping to organize and unify the masses through their organizations, especially the trade unions, in displaying the greatest activity to guarantee the defeat of Hitler. And if we emphasize the need of strengthening our party through new members, especially from the shops, or if we emphasize the need for increasing much more quickly the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and the *Sunday Worker*, it is not to utilize our position at this moment for Communism, but to be able to carry out most effectively our central task of arousing and activating the American working class to its full initiative as the leading force in the national unity.

In the light of these organizational responsibilities, what does an examination of the party work show?

1. With greater political unity, increased activity by most members, drastic reduction in membership fluctuation, and highest dues payments, there has nevertheless been only a slight increase in party membership.

2. While the industrial composition of the party has improved from 38 to 47 per cent, and for basic industry workers from 12 to 17 per cent, we face nevertheless a serious

situation in some key basic industries. Of concern is the lack of increase in Negro membership during the last year. While Chicago sets a high standard for the Northern districts with 21 per cent of the membership Negroes, the New York district is very unsatisfactory.

3. While splendid work has increased to over 85,000 the circulation of the *Sunday Worker*, that of the *Daily Worker* does not increase.

4. While the percentage of party members in the trade unions increased as a whole, a breakdown of the total shows that alongside a substantial increase of that percentage as regards C.I.O. unions, there has been a decrease as regards the A. F. of L. Furthermore, with few exceptions, our trade union work is confined too exclusively to extending leadership to top people, instead of combining that with systematic propaganda work and leadership among the membership below.

5. The party branches in large cities, and the party as a whole in the smaller industrial cities, do not carry on regular systematic political propaganda among the workers, especially in the basic industries. This results in inadequate political clarity among our supporters, and goes to explain certain setbacks in trade-union elections and small votes in general elections.

From these facts, three main observations can be drawn:

1. The party has been unable fully to reflect in its organizational work the generally favorable political developments.

2. As a result of these failures,

our existing position in the mass movement can become endangered.

3. These organizational weaknesses, such as small membership and press circulation in certain industries and districts, actually threaten the effectiveness of the war effort, because no consistent force is thus present to fight against either outright appeasement forces or confusionism.

These are not welcome facts. But, as Marxists-Leninists, we must recognize them and, more important, undertake to change them. If we strengthen the party precisely in these weak spots, we shall be many times more effective in advancing the interests of our class, the common people, and the nation.

Of specific importance, we shall be better able to contribute toward labor becoming, in the words of General MacArthur, "the indestructible backbone" of the nation, in this historic moment.

What this means for our party has been outlined by Comrade Browder, whose teachings constantly guide us, even though he is temporarily deprived from contributing his outstanding abilities to the nation. He has declared:*

"The power of the masses lies in organization. The mass movement does not spontaneously organize itself, beyond the most primitive forms: consciousness and planning are of the essence of organization, and must be transmitted to the masses first of all by the Communists. This requires the constant

* Earl Browder, *The People's Road to Peace*. Report to the 11th National Convention of the C.P.U.S.A., Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1940.

review and revamping of our party organization to fit it to the rapidly changing situation."

The Sunday Worker Campaign

The recent *Sunday Worker* campaigns have already more than doubled the circulation of the *Sunday Worker*, and the present campaign has every indication of carrying the circulation well over 100,000 regular paid readers by May 1. This means that the *Sunday Worker* is being read by two to three hundred thousand Americans weekly. Of outstanding significance are the 6,000 new subscriptions (as of March 29) outside of New York and the 12,000 home delivery subscriptions in New York City. Even more significant are the more than 1,000 subscriptions from Detroit automobile workers and the more than 500 from steel workers in the Pittsburgh-Ohio steel valleys. Such districts as Wisconsin, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Detroit, Boston, New Jersey, Alabama, Maryland, South Dakota, and Louisiana, have shown real understanding in considering the building of the *Sunday Worker* circulation as the most important direct party task. Others doing good work but still lagging in tempo are Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Connecticut and Minnesota.

With improved political leadership, increased attention and guidance to the Browder Brigades, individual attention to the branches in the contest to obtain 100 subscriptions each, the tempo necessary to guarantee 120,000 *Sunday Workers* readers by May 1 can be attained. What perspectives must we have

after that date? Our aims must be: first, consolidation of the existing circulation by strengthening the Browder Brigades and all other apparatus for delivery and sale; second, further improvement and popularizing of the contents of the paper; third, systematic renewal of all mail subscriptions; fourth, concentration to increase the circulation among basic industry workers; fifth, development of special methods of summer activity; sixth, winning of *Daily Worker* readers from among the *Sunday Worker* readers; seventh, setting of new objectives by each district aimed at a *Sunday Worker* circulation of 150,000 by Labor Day; finally, preparation for a national *Sunday Worker* conference in the late summer.

Improving the Social Composition

A year ago we raised sharply the question of improving the party's social composition, saying:

"It is an ABC of Bolshevism that a party which does not have its main strength in the basic industries will not be a very effective Communist Party. . . . We must frankly recognize that without strong party roots among the basic industrial workers we cannot talk of meeting seriously and consistently our obligations of the present period. . . .

"All this means that it is not enough to have won general influence on this or that specific question, or support for this or that individual Communist mass organization leader. The circle of our general influence in this 'old' sense must continuously broaden as we

extend our mass work and involve still more individual party members in such activity. But within this circle ever larger numbers of workers, especially from among basic industry, should be won to support and defend our party as the most consistent class-conscious force in the labor movement.”*

This emphasis throughout the past year, although not always consistent, was enough to improve the situation. Figures already quoted have indicated that during this period the proportion of industrial workers in the party has been raised to nearly half of the entire membership, and that a third of these are in the basic industries. Exclusive of the New York district, with its 43 per cent office and professional membership, the rest of the party is 51 per cent industrial and 24 per cent in the basic industries. In the entire party, sixteen districts have 50 per cent or greater industrial composition, and of the major districts only four—New York, Boston, California and Maryland—have less than 50 per cent industrial composition.

Especially important is the improved trend in regard to *basic industry composition*. In this respect some of the most important districts show:

	1941	1942
Illinois	16%	22%
Ohio	29%	32%
Detroit	35%	50%
Pittsburgh	32%	39%
New Jersey	10%	27%
Boston	14%	20%
New York	4%	7%

There has been improvement in such industries as railroad, ship-building, electrical, aviation, and machine building; but we cannot be satisfied with the situation in steel, auto, marine, and especially mining.

A recognition by the district leaderships of the seriousness of this aspect of the composition of the party membership can lay the basis for energetic steps to correct it.

Party Recruiting

While over 10,000 new members were recruited in 1941, only 3,000 of these were recruited in the latter half of the year. The fact that nearly 4,000 new members were recruited in the Browder Anniversary Campaign during April and May shows what great possibilities exist today, if recruiting is understood and approached from the viewpoint of equipping our party to carry out its central political task of arousing and activating the masses, of helping our nation throw its full weight into a mighty offensive to smash Hitlerism in 1942.

Since the conclusion of the Browder Anniversary Campaign, the best districts in recruiting were California and Seattle. During the last months of 1941 the following large districts increased their average monthly recruiting over the first quarter of the year: Boston, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Illinois, Seattle, and California. Of the major districts the following recruited less per month at the end of 1941 than at the beginning: Philadelphia, Ohio, New Jersey, Minnesota and Wisconsin. It is significant that two Southern districts, Louisiana and

* "Basic Problems of Party Organization in the Present Period," *Party News*, March-April, 1941.

Virginia, have improved their recruiting.

The first months in 1942 have shown no improvement in recruiting for the party as a whole. The industrial composition of these recruits, except for Detroit, is absolutely unsatisfactory. This situation calls for a sharp review by every district.

The General Question of Mining, Steel and Auto

The party must recognize that the circulation of its press and the organizational strength of membership among the workers in these key industries are inadequate. Immediate steps must be taken to change this situation in order that the following urgent tasks may be dealt with effectively:

1. Helping to guarantee the maximum war production by overcoming every obstacle.

2. Influencing the workers to win their organizations for a consistent policy on all Win-the-War questions in the interests of themselves and the nation as a whole.

3. Defeating all appeaser-defeatist forces, such as Lewis, the Thomas Socialists, Trotskyites, Coughlinites, and other fifth columnists.

4. Making it more possible for the Win-the-War forces, especially in such decisive states as Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, to be victorious in the coming elections.

5. Utilizing to the fullest the possibility of further clarification and activization of the entire labor movement, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., as a result of the strategic

importance of the mining, steel and automobile industries.

The thousands of steel, auto and mining workers who have started reading the *Sunday Worker* are indicative of the great possibilities for further building the party and extending the circulation of both the *Daily Worker* and the *Sunday Worker* among workers in basic industry communities. There are obviously no objective difficulties in our way. On the contrary, the possibilities are emphasized by the present political developments and realignments, based on the need for rallying all forces who stand for a clearcut war policy, support to the Administration, the immediate opening of a Western Front against Hitler, the exposing and isolating of all appeasement-defeatist elements in the labor movement, the unity of labor behind a rounded-out Win-the-War policy—these and the great traditions of our party, and the supporters it has, especially among the coal miners. In fact, the solution of these questions must be considered a challenge to us.

The recent news that the British Communist Party, despite thousands of its members gladly serving in the armed forces, has doubled its membership, to the number of 50,000—the highest in its history—is indicative of what can be done. From the few news reports available it would appear that these successes were achieved because the British Communist Party pursued a policy of political initiative and boldness—all within the structure of national unity—on such questions as the

opening of a Western Front and increasing production in the factory, and because of a correct concentration policy, as seen in the role and influence of the great Shop Stewards movement in the engineering, shipbuilding and armament industries. That this was not limited to mere economic issues but was a wide political activity is best seen in the active participation of these shop stewards councils and many national trade union federations in the mass campaigns around these issues. Furthermore, the growing recognition of this positive contribution of the Communists and the need for close collaboration is seen in the trade union and shop steward participation in the various (London) *Daily Worker* Conferences.

These experiences, as well as our own American experiences, all emphasize, not only the need but the possibilities for turning the attention of the entire party, through special methods of concentration, to the radical improvement of our influence and membership in these three industries, with every district striving to improve its own situation in basic industry. This is not an organizational task in a departmental sense. It is a main political task that must be connected with all phases of activity and resources, such as trade union activity, propaganda and agitation, national groups, cadres and finances. The work of the party center and each of the main districts must be so re-organized as to direct main concentration on this problem.

What does a policy of concentration mean today?

1. Centering the main energies and forces of the party on overcoming these weak spots in our work.

2. Recognizing that every aspect of Winning the War will be strengthened, if we simultaneously develop and strengthen our party influence and organization among the workers in basic industries. This must be integrated with a more energetic policy of developing working-class consciousness and trade-union pride on the part of basic industrial workers.

3. Influencing all mass organizations of the workers to root themselves among those engaged in basic industry.

4. Concentration systematically the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* circulation among these workers and in the industrial towns, and improving the social composition of our membership so that the majority come from basic industry.

5. Centering our cadre policy upon developing and promoting party leadership from among the active members in basic industry.

Work Among the Negro People

The contrast between the "defenseless Bataan Peninsula" and the "world's strongest fortified base of Singapore" has already raised in sharp relief the military role of political mobilization and participation of the entire population, including the nationally oppressed masses, in the conduct of a people's war. To put into action the full and great strength of the Negro people in helping to win the war, the demo-

cratic forces of government and the people must wage a struggle against the poll tax, lynching, discrimination in industry and the armed forces—not as a condition for the Negro people's support of the war, but as a means of consolidating and strengthening national unity and the fighting power of our nation, as well as encouraging the masses of India, China and Latin America. In this task we Communists now, as always, join with all other progressive and labor forces.

Often in the past, the poll-tax reactionaries like Dies, Reynolds, Byrd, and Connally have called the Communists the "party of the Negro People." What to them was a disgrace we proudly accepted. The names of the Communist Party and Earl Browder will always be remembered in connection with Scottsboro and Herndon.

Some districts of our party have started to earn the title "party of the Negro People" like:

Chicago with 21 per cent of its membership Negro comrades.

Missouri with 20 per cent of its membership Negro comrades.

Philadelphia with 12 per cent of its membership Negro comrades.

Ohio with 10 per cent of its membership Negro comrades.

But in other districts, especially New York and California, the situation is very unsatisfactory. To extend our influence and to build our party among the Negro people, especially Negro workers, is an important and decisive task. It is a task intimately connected with our responsibility to our class, our peo-

ple and our nation, in helping to win the war and smash the Axis.

Problems of Increasing the Effectiveness of the Party During this Period

Being inspired with but one aim—in common with all America—the speedy and complete military destruction of the Axis powers and their system of fascism, the Communists frankly examine their own organizational shortcomings in order the better to participate effectively in the common struggle. What needs attention and improvement?

1. Today the party branch must come forward boldly and publicly in its Ward or Assembly District territory as one of the active win-the-war forces, collaborating in its modest way with all other such forces. The branch meeting must be educational and inspirational and open to all friends of the Communists who wish to attend. The business of the party shall be conducted through the branch executive and branch sub-division (group).

2. In order to meet the new problems confronting our members through increased working hours in the shop, participation in Civilian Defense and all other war tasks, the party must simplify its methods of functioning and activity. This does not mean being less active. On the contrary, it is aimed at increased but more effective political mass activity. The key to this question is activization of more members. Today there is "too much demanded from too few." What we must aim at is "a little more activity from

many more." The solution of this question must be tackled determinedly by every District leadership.

3. Today, more than ever before, emphasis must be placed on extending all forms of political education for our party members. In direct ratio to the extent that our members are actively participating in every phase of mass work and mass organizations, must we ideologically equip them to make them effective forces among the people. An entire system of political education must be instituted from top to bottom in the party.

4. The most effective guide for every party member and for every advanced worker in the trade unions, shops and mass organizations is the regular consistent reading of the *Daily Worker*. To this end the *Daily Worker* sales should be constantly increased. Otherwise the political effectiveness of our work must suffer.

5. Replacing the many party functionaries who gladly join the rest of America in its armed forces must be grappled with more fundamentally, energetically and boldly. While a hundredfold greater attention to the training and promotion of working class women is on the order of the day, it is also necessary to reorganize the work to reduce to the minimum the number of full-time functionaries. This will make possible and necessary the active involvement of shop workers, trade union and mass organization activists, in various posts of political leadership, utilizing many of the politically less experienced women

cadres for organizational and administrative work.

6. Contributing to the most effective unity and to every phase of the war effort to bring about the destruction of the Axis necessitates that we increase our own particular share of activity. It is not enough for the National Committee and the *Daily Worker* to develop our political position generally day by day. We must expect our districts and sections to develop their own political initiative and react and contribute to the solution of various problems.

While developing political initiative, we should work in a modest way and never run ahead or lag behind the developing movement of national unity. We must—

1. Find suitable ways and means of bringing forward and popularizing the party's position and proposals, remembering that the development of greater political initiative is not always identical with formal and official party initiative, which is not always necessary or at times advisable;

2. Root out all tendencies that may exist, to obtain any special advantage, credit, or recognition for our party, as a condition for our contribution to the common effort;

3. Set no conditions for our collaboration or activities in support of the common action for winning the war and the destruction of Hitlerism.

As the main trend among the win-the-war forces (especially the trade unions) for collaboration with the Communists in the common struggle gains momentum, the appeaser-

defeatist forces and the Hearst-Scripps Howard press (unfortunately sometimes aped by such pro-democratic papers as *PM*) attempt more desperately to divide the pro-war forces by calling for the suppression of the Communists, or by saying it is all right to collaborate with the "good" Russian Communists but wrong to collaborate with the American Communists. There are still remnants left of the mistaken idea that support to and collaboration with the Soviet Union could receive wider support among conservatives if the Communist Party would "liquidate itself."

We, of course, have no intention of heeding any of these requests.

The people who call upon us to "liquidate," should remember that political parties represent the most conscious forces of the population belonging to various classes. Just as these people have no power or magic wand with which to abolish the working class, so can they not abolish the Communist Party, which is part of the working class and draws its strength from it.

National unity means unity of all classes, all forces and trends that agree with the common aim of safeguarding the national interests and security of the United States of America by all-out participation in the destruction of Hitlerism. The essence of national unity is not that we accept one another's political views, but that there is agreement and fulfillment of all tasks in furthering the common aim. Hitlerism today menaces the entire nation and not one political ideology or group. Consequently national

unity must be inclusive of everyone committed to the winning of the war and the destruction of Hitlerism, irrespective of political ideologies.

We Communists are a small party that receives as yet comparatively few votes on election day. But that is not decisive. We are a part of a class which is decisive in winning the war. We are able to influence, not only that core of several hundred thousands who look to us, but still larger numbers of people, who do not support our political program, but who know us as consistent, loyal and honest in our devotion to the working class, and who listen to us and know the forthrightness of our arguments.

We are able to exercise this influence only because we are an organic part of the working class, drawing our strength, support and membership primarily from that class. Because of this, we are able, as a Communist Party, to make great contributions to the cause of national unity, which we do everything to strengthen.

The arguments of those who would like to see us liquidated would only lead to the weakening of the necessary anti-Axis national unity. Such arguments must bring joy to the heart of Hitler. If you attack the Communist Party—it is not primarily a question of civil rights—it is above all a smashing of anti-Hitler unity. If you permit one group to be deprived of its rights, you are opening the door to deprive others whose philosophy or particular opinion you don't like. *If you accept the proposition of liquidating*

the Communist Party, you are accepting the main essence of Hitler's ideology and practice, manacled the hands of our nation with the very ideology which Hitler is using for its destruction. You are sowing the seeds of disunity and threatening the existence of the nation. You are opening the door to Hitler and his Quislings and Pétains inside our country.

These gentlemen should understand they cannot turn back the wheels of history which produced the modern labor movement and the Communist Party. In this critical hour, it is unfortunate if some people have short memories—and do not remember where this Hitlerite policy of disunity of the democratic forces under the guise of anti-

Communism led to in Germany, France and other countries.

Today, faced with the menace of Hitlerism, the defense of the nation needs everyone committed to the common program of winning the war and smashing Hitler and the Axis.

Let us go about our tasks, fighting for the national interests of our country and the interests of our class. Our every activity has but one motivation—how to speed up the winning of the war through an immediate offensive to make possible the smashing of the Hitler bandit hordes in 1942. Let us aim today to build our party and fulfill the circulation objectives of the *Daily Worker* and the *Sunday Worker*, so as to fulfill our historic duty to our class and our nation.

FOR A CONCERTED OFFENSIVE AGAINST HITLER: REFLECTIONS ON LIEUT.-COL. KERNAN'S BOOK *

BY WILLIAM LINDSAY

I.

TODAY, as never before in history, military policy is a matter of active, burning concern to millions: it is part and parcel of public policy as a whole, in an hour of supreme world crisis. In this spring of 1942, the peoples and government of the United Nations face what may well be the climax of the worldwide war against the Hitlerite Axis. They are called on to make together, unitedly, a decision of tremendous import. A point in the war has been reached where it is possible for the first time for the United Nations to deliver to the fascist enemy a decisive blow—provided a concerted, all-out offensive is launched against Hitler! At the same time, if this opportunity is not grasped, the only prospect that remains is one of a long-drawn-out, vastly more difficult war, involving far greater losses, far costlier sacrifices, with a deadlier threat of possible defeat. The very real possibility of smashing Hitler's war

machine this year hinges on the taking of decisive united action—offensive action—*now*. By so doing, the United Nations would at the same time utterly undermine the position of Japan, and assure its final defeat, once the center of the fascist Axis had been crushed.

As Eugene Dennis pointed out in his article "For a Second Front in Europe," in *The Communist* for April:

"Victory over Hitler and the Axis still has to be won. This is the paramount, the foremost and common task of all of the United Nations. To win victory, whether early or later, will require a supreme and combined effort of the entire world anti-Hitler front, of all peoples. It will require greater common war efforts, sustained common fighting action and a closer alliance of all of the United Nations, above all of the leading coalition of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain." (p. 211.)

Decisive concerted action has become a practical possibility through the mighty contribution of our most powerful ally, the Soviet Union, whose heroic armies have met and

* *Defense Will Not Win the War*, by Lieut.-Col. W. F. Kernan, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1942. \$1.50. 193 pp.

taken the full weight of the Nazi offensive, stopped it in its tracks, pressed it back in a vast counter-offensive, and, by wresting the initiative from Hitler on the Eastern Front, created the priceless opportunity for Allied victory in 1942.

Hitler has lost the initiative on the Eastern Front, where the Red Army pins down and hammers relentlessly the vast bulk of his war machine. His strategic freedom of movement is powerfully curtailed; and if he still retains a measure of initiative in relation to the other theaters of action it is because in these other theaters *it has not been taken from him*—in the one way possible, namely, through the launching of an offensive led by Britain and the U.S.A., opening up a new, second front.

If the opportunity that has been bought with the blood and sacrifice of the heroic Soviet fighters, supported by the war efforts of Britain, the U.S.A. and the rest of our embattled Allies, is not to be let go, then we must see to it that fully unified strategic direction of the war, in conjunction with Britain and the U.S.S.R., is established by our government; that a full military alliance be established between the United States and the Soviet Union; and that we pass without delay to the unleashing of the concerted, synchronized offensive.

In his address to the American Academy of Political and Social Science, on April 10, Soviet Ambassador Maxim Litvinov uttered a solemn warning:

"The only prize worthy of our

united efforts can be absolute victory over Hitler and his satellites. But this victory still needs to be organized. So far we are only feeling our way toward it, we have not found the right path yet. It is essential to find this path by our united efforts, and we must be quick about it, or it may be blocked before we get there. . . .

"I mean united efforts now, for the definite purpose of inflicting defeat on Hitler on the only front where this is possible. Victory may be long in coming if one state has to exhaust its major forces in today's military operations, while another harbors them for possible operations at some indefinite time in the future." (*New York Times*, April 11.)

On March 27 Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain Ivan Maisky had stated the position in these terms:

"The secret of victory consists in having a decisive preponderance over the enemy at a decisive moment in a decisive place. The necessary prerequisite for that is an offensive spirit that will penetrate the whole strategy of the war, including political and economic warfare. . . . The allies . . . should take the initiative in their own hands . . . The slogan 'time is on our side' is in no way axiomatic. . . ." (*Time*, April 6, 1942.)

And again:

"The decisive moment is the year 1942. The enemy stakes all on 1942. . . . The task before the Allies is clear—they must also stake all on 1942. They must also make the supreme effort in the spring and summer of this year in order to beat the enemy." (*Daily Worker*, March 28, 1942.)

The transition to a unified offensive strategy, on the part of the American and British governments involves the overcoming of obstacles and hesitations generated by the surviving forces of appeasement and isolationism: it involves a struggle, in which the governments require the fullest and most active support of the people in rooting out the obstructionists, wherever they may be found, who delay the rendering of full assistance to our Soviet ally, in routing the spreaders of disunity and defeatism, in crushing decisively all remnants of appeasement. Fifty thousand Britishers in Trafalgar Square, calling for an offensive and the opening of a second front on the Continent; the C.I.O. Extraordinary Conference in Washington urging "an immediate offensive against the Axis powers to achieve victory in 1942"; these actions of the working people point the way to success, along the line of determined, ever-increasing pressure in favor of a policy of victory!

The rising demand for the offensive against Hitler has found its reflection in recent weeks in a number of statements of Allied war leaders, as well as among publicists and popular spokesmen.

President Roosevelt's condemnation of the "turtle" policy of the perpetual defensive was aimed directly at the defeatists who would torpedo America's safety by withdrawing our armed forces from the outposts of decisive action, and opening the gates to the enemy. Admiral King, Secretary of the Navy Knox, Under-Secretary for War

Patterson, have spoken out for the offensive. General Marshall, Chief of Staff, declared on March 30 that the main purpose of our military effort "is to gather all our forces for a major offensive at the earliest possible date." (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, March 31.)

Voicing the mood of vast numbers among our allies, Lord Beaverbrook stated on March 29:

"We recognize the opportunity presented by the epic battle of the Russians. . . . The cry goes up now for offensive action—action. This is the proper mood for great nations who are resolved to remain great. . . . The resolve of Britain, Canada, and America must be to play our full part in this first deadly, offensive stroke against the boasting enemy." (*N. Y. Times*, March 30.)

The Canadian Commander-in-Chief, Lieut.-Gen. McNaughton, on his return to Britain from conferences in Washington and Ottawa, called for "an attack on the Germans abroad as soon as the proper opportunity comes. We don't want a blow struck casually. We want a continuing effect on the enemy. . . . You don't win wars by sitting in defensive positions, no matter how important they are," he observed. (*Ibid.*)

In Chungking, General Yang Chieh declared before the War College that what was needed now was the "opening of a new European battlefield" by Anglo-American forces. (*N. Y. Times*, April 3.) General Sikorski, head of the Polish Government-in-exile, has likewise pointed to the necessity of crushing

Hitler on the Continent if the Axis as a whole is to be smashed: "The war is going to be won or lost on European soil." (*Daily Worker*, March 24.)

Finally, in the columns of the daily and periodical press, the adoption of an offensive policy has been urged by such publicists as Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Thompson, Major George Fielding Eliot, Max Werner, the editors of the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, and many others. *The issue of the concerted allied offensive has become the over-riding question of all public policy in America.* Our *Battle for Production* has meaning to the extent that it serves this end, that it provides the weapons for decisive *action* against the enemy at the decisive time and the decisive place. As Robert Minor declared in his Report to the National Committee of the Communist Party, on April 4:

"The moment of decision is not next year, but this spring, these very weeks immediately ahead. . . .

"All of America, united, must hit Hitler now with what we've got—and we've got enough to be effective—now. If we don't do it now, we may not again have the initiative for a long and terrible period. If we don't do it now we lose the only present possibility of exercising the initiative, the first principle of war, and with costly consequences. . . ." (*Daily Worker*, April 7.)

Concerted action *now*: herein lies the key to Allied victory.

II.

A notable contribution to arousing and stimulating widespread dis-

cussion of the issue of concerted offensive action by the United Nations has been made by the recent best-seller *Defense Will Not Win the War*, the author of which is Lieut.-Colonel W. F. Kernan, (U. S. Army).

This is a book of outstanding timeliness. It contains an energetic and lucid argument in favor of the offensive against Hitler, and it forcefully disposes of the "defense myth" as a threat to American security.

On the imperative need for striking at the heart of the Hitlerite Axis—on the continent of Europe—Lt.-Col. Kernan speaks with vigor and conviction. This is the main theme of the book, stated in the Preface and again and again through the succeeding pages:

"We must learn and commit to memory the truth that no single weapon or group of weapons, no single fool-proof principle of tactics or strategy, no fleet, is enough to defeat Hitler as long as we continue to think defensively." (p. xi.)

". . . in dealing with a 'total' enemy who wields a 'total' threat (i.e., the threat of national extinction) anything short of an all-out offensive is inadequate." (p. 78.)

In dealing with the "defense myth" Kernan castigates the illusion that our vast industrial war-potential somehow or other, "by itself," automatically, "without generalship, without an American expeditionary force or an American battle, will be able to defeat Hitler." (p. 95.) The *Battle for Production* can bring victory only if the planes and tanks and guns are brought to

bear with concentrated force against the main body of the enemy's armed power. Only when this is fully understood can we begin to "think offensively"—and act offensively.

The author of *Defense Will Not Win the War* not only understands the need for passing with all speed to the offensive; he points to the necessity for concentrating this offensive at the *decisive point*: Hitler's armies on the European continent. He warns eloquently against the danger of allowing ourselves to be distracted by Japan into an impotent dispersal of our offensive strength. Precisely this was the purpose of the Hitler-dictated attack on Pearl Harbor: on no account must we fall into this trap.

"We must launch a major offensive in Europe. We must strike at Adolph Hitler. On no account must we let the war with Japan deflect us from our central purpose or weaken our main effort." (p. 122.)

And again:

"We must be warned in time, we must beware of this enemy who decides to direct our attention from his point of weakness to his position of greatest strength, this enemy who is even now making a desperate effort to convince us that we should not strike him in the one place where he is quite unable to defend himself. If we do this, if we turn westwards with our main effort, we shall be doing exactly what Hitler wants us to do, but if we are warned in time, if we can bring ourselves to see reality in its true perspective, it is not too late to upset his calculations by an Atlantic

offensive launched with all the fire and fury of Gettysburg." (pp. 132-133.)

The importance of this warning is particularly clear at the present time, when the Japanese advances in the Southwest Pacific and the threat to Australia are being seized on by the appeaser adversaries of an offensive against Hitler, in order to paralyze the one possible decisive blow that can be delivered against the Axis now.

It is no accident that these proponents of concentrating our efforts on the Pacific and turning our back on Hitler-dominated Europe are precisely those who harbor leanings in the direction of a "negotiated peace" with Hitler, and who shamelessly seek to misuse the prestige of General MacArthur to screen their attacks on American labor! Their Quislingism is of one piece, whether in war or domestic policy.

Finally, the argument for offensive action is clinched with an examination of the lessons of military history, both remote and recent. In the Punic Wars, Rome's defense was made secure only with the occupation and destruction of Carthage; Britain's struggle against Bourbon France ranged from the Ganges to the St. Lawrence Valley—but it was offensive land warfare on the European continent that brought about the decision; Marlborough's victory at Blenheim. Wellington's at Waterloo, were the fruits of the strategic offensive on the mainland; the decision in our own Civil War became possible only

through a vigorous offensive, with Sherman's drive through Georgia.

More recently, the experiences of the continental total war have demonstrated that without offensive action on land, defensive bases—whether a “line” such as the Maginot, or isolated peripheral fortresses such as Hong Kong or Singapore—are ultimately untenable. A strategy based simply on “holding” defensive points, on defending everywhere while the enemy attacks everywhere, is doomed to disaster.

“The lesson we must learn from history is that in all-out continental war (and this war is the daddy of them all) every effort that is not aimed at the heart of the enemy, that is to say at his central military force, is bound to be indecisive.” (p. 54.)

Such is the very positive message of the greater part of this book.

III.

Unfortunately, Lt.-Col. Kernan's book is marred by certain grave defects.

Thus, it is to be regretted that the author has not developed his argument in favor of the offensive in such a way as to conceive of it as the concerted offensive of the *United Nations*. To call for “the victorious American offensive” while leaving our Allies out of account, to say, as the author does, that “America is the sole power left on earth with sufficient strength to undertake an offensive” (p. xi), betrays, to say the least, a lack of

realism. Recognition of the fact that the United States is ready and able to pass over to the offensive against the enemy—the salient fact which the whole book seeks to drive home—must go hand in hand with recognition of the role of those who fight side by side with us, in the forefront of whom stand the mighty forces of the Soviet Union.

By what seems to be an astonishing purblindness, Kernan has been able to write a book demonstrating the necessity for a continental offensive against Germany without correctly estimating or taking into account the one continental power that has fought Hitler's legions to a standstill and then taken the offensive against them on a 2,000-mile front! Where he does refer to the existence of the Soviet Union, he misrepresents it, groundlessly lumping it with those who were afflicted with an outworn policy of “defensism,” and giving a distorted picture of the Soviet armies' fight in the period of the great strategic withdrawal of last summer and autumn, which prepared for and made possible the present Soviet offensive.

To refer to the Soviet Union (p. 89) as a power suffering from the illusions of “defensism” is to give evidence of what can only be described as myopia. To the extent that he refers to Soviet foreign policy, in the years preceding Hitler's onslaught, it is a matter of his incomprehension of the relationship of war and politics, which we shall deal with presently. To the extent that he refers to Soviet war doctrine, training and action, it is pre-

sumably the result of ignorance of the facts. Yet for years it has been no secret that outside of Germany, only the socialist Soviet Union succeeded in building a great continental army based on the fullest development and integration of *offensive arms* in vast quantities: planes, tanks, artillery, backed by mechanized infantry and cavalry. This offensive military force was permeated with an offensive war doctrine. As Max Werner wrote in 1939:

"Red strategy . . . has resuscitated the old principle of Clausewitz that effective defense is nothing but the preparation for a successful offensive."

And he quoted the Soviet Field Service Regulations:

"The military operations of the Red Army will be conducted with a view to destroying the enemy. The fundamental aim of the Soviet Union in any war which is forced upon it will be to secure a decisive victory and utterly overthrow its enemy. . . .

"The enemy must be caught throughout the whole depth of his position and there encircled and destroyed." (*Military Strength of the Powers*, pp. 86-87.)

The epic powers of resistance and the offensive striking power of the Red Army stem from its political character, as the army of a free people, builders of a new socialist society, engaged in defending their homeland and their liberties. As Stalin declared in his Order of the Day of Feb. 23, the growing quan-

tity of tanks, planes, guns and other weapons "is one of the main sources of the strength and might of the Red Army."

"But this is not the only source of the Red Army's strength. The Red Army's strength lies above all in that it does not wage predatory imperialistic war, but a patriotic war, a war of liberation, a just war."

What this strength has meant has been demonstrated in the teeth of an enemy possessing numerical superiority in tanks and planes, in the most stupendous battles in history.

Certainly, the passage from active defense to the counter-offensive, carried through by the Red Army last December—a feat which called forth the unreserved acclaim of the whole democratic world—could never have been accomplished by "mass formations" doomed to certain "capture (or destruction)," which is the author's gloomy description of the Soviet armies after June 22.

Kernan's whole estimate of the Soviet military power stands in shapest contradiction both to historic fact (the great Soviet counter-offensive had been under way for two months at the time of the book's publication) and to opinions as authoritative as those of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who declared in his Greeting to the Red Army on Feb. 23:

"The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army. During my lifetime I have

participated in a number of wars and have witnessed others, as well as studying in great detail the campaigns of outstanding leaders of the past.

"In none have I observed such effective resistance to the heaviest blows of a hitherto undefeated enemy, followed by a smashing counter-attack which is driving the enemy back to his own land. The scale and grandeur of this effort marks it as the greatest military achievement in all history."

Another respect in which the author falls short through failure to envisage the offensive as that of a *coalition*, is his not altogether convincing singling out of Italy as the point to be attacked,* without indicating in any way that, actually, the choice of the front to be opened up must be arrived at in joint consultation by the Allied High Commands, whose unified operation is essential to the carrying out of a synchronized, effective attack.

The reasons which he adduces for there being "no doubt whatever about choosing the Italian theatre as the decisive one," lose much of their cogency in view of the fact that he speaks of an "American offensive," to the practical exclusion of our Allies.

Clearly, the actual united offensive must be approached with a realistic appraisal of the existing (not a mythical) relation of forces. And among these forces, the Red Army holds a position of decisive,

pivotal importance. Kernan's failure to grasp this fact inevitably weakens the impact of his book.

IV

Defense Will Not Win the War is stated by the author to be "the attempt of a professional soldier to orientate American public opinion in respect to offensive warfare." (p. vii). This orientation is a matter, not only of military policy, but of political relations in the full meaning of the term. Clarity in the struggle for an all-out offensive against Hitler requires an understanding of political alignments, an awareness of the character of the forces obstructing the adoption of an offensive policy, and a clear grasp of the aims of the offensive. Appeasement and Munichism are not so dead as to be of historical interest only.

Kernan sees the events leading up to the present war primarily as the outcome of a fallacious concept of modern warfare: a fixed obsession with "the supremacy of sea-power," a "devotion to the sea-power concept" (p. 119). According to his view, "we were in the grip of a false concept . . . a sort of collective delusion on the subject of armed combat between nations." (p. 7). In the background of this military fallacy was a vague "fear of war"; but the essence of the thesis is that it was Mahan's theory of sea-power, coupled with the "defense myth" and the "staff complex," that made possible the fascist advance and the defeats of the Western Powers. The primary role of political relations,

* Kernan's "argument," that "The Italians are clowns, . . . buffoons," is worse than unfortunate: it is a libel on the revolutionary Italy of Garibaldi and on the heroic anti-fascist fighters of the International Brigade in Spain.

the anti-Soviet conniving at aggression which was the essence of Munichism, Kernan fails to grasp.

This inability to see war in its true relation to politics leads to a one-sided emphasis on the role of conservatism in military theory, combined with a confusedly idealist conception of political realities. Kernan misunderstands the doctrine of Clausewitz, because he does not understand the nature of politics. He says:

"Clausewitz had said that 'war is the continuation of policy by other means' but even Clausewitz in his wildest dreams of *Weltmacht* never imagined that war might be the continuation of *politics* by other means." (p. 173.)

This misconception as to what Clausewitz actually said flows from the author's view of "politics" as synonymous with narrow electioneering and place-seeking: he sees the turbid surface of bourgeois "politics," but not the underlying movement of historically determined class relationships. His dream is of a warfare free from "political interference"; hence his "unpolitical" interpretations of war and its problems.

What is needed is not to deny or obscure the role of military-theoretical (and practical) questions, but to see them in their proper perspective, within and interacting with the larger framework of political relationships. Kernan himself cannot but sense the interdependence of these two fields of social life, as is evident when he says,

"There is a close parallel between

the conduct of military operations in the spring of 1940 and the conduct of diplomatic operations in the summer of 1939." (pp. 38-9.)

But the "parallel" remains a parallel, the military defeats are left unrelated to the actual course of historical development, and Mahan is made to bear the guilt for the crimes of Chamberlain. Thus:

"... it is childish to seek the reasons for Dunkirk and Sedan in the mistakes of English ministers or the bickering of French politicians." (p. 30.)

"The root of the trouble was that they had all accepted with the fervor of a religious dogma Mahan's theory of the absolute supremacy of British sea-power." (p. 31.)

Actually the outmoded war-doctrine of the Western High Commands did play its part; but as a "continuation" and extension, in the military field, of the politics of reaction. Official war-doctrine in France and Britain, for definite historico-political reasons, failed to understand the technical "revolution" in warfare which the introduction of the gasoline motor had brought about. They did not grasp the fact that the immobility of the positional warfare dominant in the last war, based on immobile fire-power, had been overcome by the development of the new motor-driven weapons of mobile offensive: the tank and the plane, mobile artillery, backed by motor-borne troops.*

* cf. Max Werner, *Military Strength of the Powers, Modern Age, 1939*, Ch. 1; and Cyril Falls, *Nature of Modern Warfare* (Oxford Press, New York, 1941).

But behind the military "defense myth" and the "staff complex" lay the politics of Versailles and Munich. By "overlooking" the history of the two decades between Munich and Versailles, and concentrating his fire on Admiral Mahan, the author fails to place the "defense myth," and aggression versus collocation of weapons and methods of warfare cannot be understood if taken out of its full historic context. Hence Kernan's confusion of the two distinct problems—military offensive doctrine vs. the "defense myth," and aggression versus collective security. The policy of the Soviet Union is presented as identical with that of the opponents of collective security, as part of the "defense myth"; there is no awareness of the fundamental opposition between appeasement and the vigorous foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., striving for collective action against the aggressors in the pre-war period and then, following the sabotage of collective security by the Munichmen, taking decisive military-political measures to block the Hitlerite advance. To the author's corresponding distortion of Soviet war-doctrine and practice, we have already referred.

Finally, these political—or apolitical—shortcomings bring us back to Kernan's major mistake, in the failure to envisage the offensive as the policy and strategy of the United Nations' coalition. The last chapter of the book, entitled "On the Dangers of Warfare by Committee," is indirectly almost an argument against coalition warfare in general; more explicitly it is a plea

for keeping "politics" out of the war leadership. From the grim example of the divided counsels of the Allied commands in 1914-18, Kernan deduces, not the necessity for maximum unified operative leadership in the United Nations coalition, and for the fullest participation of the masses of the people in the carrying through of an all-out policy of the offensive—but the need for "a leader" who must be "capable of wielding, and, if necessary seizing, absolute authority," with "no *arrière-pensée* directed towards the field of domestic politics, no ear half-turned towards the oracles of the market-place or forum." (pp. 190-91.)

The injection of this anti-democratic note is disturbing. That it does not fully reflect Kernan's actual position is apparent from his statement in an interview given to the *Daily Worker*, in which he stressed the democratic nature of the war and the possibilities of extending the democratic ideal and process through the war. He declared:

"This is a democratic war because it stems from the hearts of the people—as much so as the French or American Revolutions. In those wars the people did not hide behind a defensive psychosis. They took the risk inherent in all wars. And they won. They were people's wars and their outcome was the people's victory." (*Daily Worker*, March 22.)

Apart from its tendency to separate military policy from the progressive politics of this great united peoples' war of liberation, Ker-

nan's book in its main thesis and intention seeks to make a thoroughly valuable contribution to the waging of the war: a war that can be won only by a military policy which, through unity of leadership and common fighting action by the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain carries into effect the policy of the United Nations' Agreement, the policy of joint total effort for the destruction of the Hitlerite Axis.

"Defense will not win the war": Hitler can be smashed in 1942: only concerted offensive action against Nazi-held Europe can open the path to victory: these truths must be driven home and acted upon by our whole people. This will be successfully accomplished to the degree that the *politics* of the united anti-Axis liberation war is grasped with the utmost clarity by our embattled nation.

COMRADE JACK JOHNSTONE: GREAT-HEARTED WORKING CLASS LEADER

THE National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., announces with deepest sorrow its irreparable loss in the death of one of its oldest and best-beloved members, Comrade Jack Johnstone. We extend our most heartfelt sympathy to his family.

Inseparable friend and closest associate for the past thirty years of Earl Browder and William Z. Foster, this great labor leader and outstanding fighter of the American working class played a valiant role in the pioneer struggles to organize the unorganized toilers of our country which today have come to fruition in the powerful industrial unions such as auto, steel, packing, rubber and marine, in the great American trade union movement eleven million strong, which is the backbone of our national war effort. He championed the cause of the peoples everywhere, in America, India and Canada. He fought uncompromisingly against reaction and fascism, for freedom and progress. He held high the banner of socialism, to which he dedicated his life.

This wise and experienced political leader, veteran of many struggles, out of his vast accumulated knowledge of the needs and aspirations of the people, helped mightily to forge a Communist Party that is

today flesh and blood of the American people, deeply rooted in the best traditions of our country and its glorious struggles for life, liberty and happiness, and carrying on in that spirit.

This great-hearted fighter, fearless and courageous, known to many thousands of workers across this country because he stood side by side with them in days of struggle and sacrifice—died as he lived, a fighter to the last. Stronger and younger people might well have succumbed and retired under the pressure of pain endured by our brave comrade in the past few years. But with his ever dauntless and indomitable spirit he arose from a major operation two years ago and with Bolshevik will he traveled, spoke and wrote, giving us to the last his wisdom, his knowledge and his glorious example, until the inevitable return to the hospital finally terminated his work.

Comrade Johnstone fought like a hero to live, to return to his post of duty, keenly aware of the critical days our country and the world are passing through. To his last conscious moment his thoughts were concentrated on the tremendous responsibilities which confront our party, the Communist Party U.S.A., to help clarify and mobilize the American people that unitedly they

may unsheath all their mighty forces to destroy forever fascist tyranny. To his last conscious moment his thoughts were on how best to strengthen and solidly unify the labor movement and nation for the Battle of Production, for taking the offensive now against the barbaric Axis and its center—Hitler Germany, for strengthening the alliance of the United Nations and peoples, especially the bonds of solidarity and unity of action of America and the Soviet Union.

To his last conscious moment his thoughts were on one who had visited him daily when he was in the hospital two years ago but is now far away in a prison cell — his friend, the great American, the leader of the Communist Party, Earl Browder.

Brave and true comrade, Jack Johnstone, we lower our banner in sorrowful tribute, in loving memory, of your long years of faithful service to the American working class. Great veteran of our party, to us your loss is irreparable. We pledge to you that we will be worthy of our responsibilities. We will carry on in your spirit of de-

votion to the working class, to the genuine national interests of our country and people, to the cause of freedom of all peoples and nations. We pledge to you and in your memory, we will give our all, our work, our lives if necessary, as you have done, that Hitler and the Axis, that fascist tyranny, shall be forever wiped from the earth. We pledge to you, our dear departed comrade, that we will never rest until your old-time friend, our great leader, Comrade Earl Browder, is restored to us. We pledge to you, great fighter out of the heart of labor, we will forever keep alive your memory by as unswervingly and resolutely fulfilling the historic tasks of our party as you by your noble example taught us to do.

Hail and farewell—Comrade Jack Johnstone!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

WM. Z. FOSTER,
National Chairman

ROBERT MINOR,
Acting Secretary.

COMRADE JOSE DIAZ: HIS EXEMPLARY LIFE AND WORK

BY I. URIZAR

JOSE DIAZ, our own beloved "Pepe Diaz," our unforgettable party chieftain, has died—died just when we needed him most. Along with the Communist Party, the proletariat and the Spanish people as a whole lose one of their greatest leaders.

But José Diaz belonged not to the Spanish people alone; his work and influence were felt beyond the confines of our nation. Called upon to lead our party, our own proletariat, and our people in those historic circumstances which made of Spain the first bulwark in defense of freedom, democracy, and the sum total of human values, José Diaz was one of the principal defenders of the freedom of every country; he was one of the most selfless fighters for the rights and the future of the working class of the world; he was a great leader of the international working class.

For this reason, today, along with the Spanish Communists and the Spanish proletariat, the workers all over the world mourn his death; and along with the Spanish patriots, lovers of the freedom and independence of their own country everywhere mourn the passing of the great Spanish leader.

José Diaz was, above all things else, a model Bolshevik, molded in the spirit of Stalin. He it was who chiefly forged, inspired and guided the present Communist Party of Spain, whose history will be forever linked with the name of the great proletariat of Seville.

José Diaz was elevated to the General Secretaryship of our party in 1932; it was his long record of staunch struggle that brought him to this post of leadership, his years of militancy in the party, in the course of which he made of Seville one of the strongest and most influential of our party districts; it was, above all, his opposition, as unyielding as it was just, to the sectarian and treacherous leadership which our party had at that time, in the group made up of Bullejos, Adame and company.

* * *

At this period, the proletariat and the people were beginning to see that the triumph which they shortly before had achieved over the fascism of Primo de Rivera and the Monarchy was about to slip through their fingers. The thing to be done was to make of the Republic a true democracy. But

with the state power abandoned to a heterogeneous coalition, one with no clear program and lacking in the necessary unity and solidarity, the aspirations of the proletariat and the people came to naught. The popular triumph was being frustrated; and repression, in place of annihilating the enemies of the nation, was falling upon the workers and peasants; the fascist reaction was beginning to rear its head. The organized proletariat, being deeply divided—many being possessed of a reformist background, while others followed a non-political and Anarcho-Syndicalist path—was incapable of making its weight decisively felt in the political leadership of the country. This was due more than anything else to the fact that the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party, had its arms pinioned by the Bullejos group, which forced the party to keep its back turned to the problems of the working class and the people. As a result, the party was incapable of shedding light upon the problems connected with the popular movement; it was incapable of uniting the forces of the proletariat and of bringing the peasants and other popular strata into harmony with it. Thus, our party was unable to live up to its high mission, and remained a narrow group with no wide influence over the masses.

José Diaz was the one called upon to remedy this situation. Endowed with an unfaltering loyalty to the principles of Communism, he restored those pure and undiluted principles to the Spanish party, while rigorously sweeping out all

hostile influence that had been disseminated by the previous leadership. He educated the party in proletarian internationalism, communicating to it his own unshakable confidence in the working class of the world, and especially in that of the U.S.S.R. The ten years during which he held the post of General-Secretary was the period in which the party studied and permanently armed itself with Marxist-Leninist theory, acquiring thereby a faith in the Communist program that nothing could daunt.

José Diaz himself understood, and from the very first made others understand, the basic objectives of that popular movement which Spain was experiencing. He it was who drew up the program for the true democratization of the Republic and the struggle against fascism (for democratic liberties; better living conditions for the workers; land for the peasants; self-determination for nationalities; the extirpation of the power of the fascist reaction); and, in the course of carrying out this program, the party became the vanguard of the working class and the people. But José Diaz taught the party, by his example, that it could become the vanguard only on condition that it met each new situation with the proper political line, finding for each problem the solution that fitted the needs of the proletariat and the people.

For ten years, thanks to the inspiration of its leader, the party was able to foresee events and to deal with emergencies as they arose. In the years 1933 and 1936,

it decried the preparations which the fascists were making. In the month the war began, it announced the presence of foreign troops and proposed the eight points which would permit the waging of a long war. When the fascists were threatening Madrid in November, it was "Pepe" who, acting as the head of the party, proclaimed that Madrid must be saved; and he it was who aroused and led the people, making of Madrid the wonder of the world. Throughout the course of the war, confronted by the situations created by the army, by the Franco invaders, and by the fifth column—confronted, likewise, by those situations created by "revolutionary extremism" and by the panicmongers—"Pepe," through the party, continued to point out to the Spanish people the path they should follow. He was not always heard in due time; but the witness of events would time and again show that the Communist Party, led by José Diaz, was right, and the working class and the people, perceiving this, would insist upon those measures being taken which he had inspired.

José Diaz was able to make the party see that the vanguard in itself, if isolated, was incapable of solving any question, that no objective could be obtained unless it was understood by the working class and the people, unless the proletariat and the people were united around it and cast the whole of their weight into the struggle for its achievement. In this respect José Diaz stands out as the exponent of unity; the whole of his life work

bears this broadest imprint. He forged the unity of our party by re-establishing the theoretical line upon which the proletarian vanguard might in turn forge for itself a unity of steel: namely, Marxism-Leninism. He gave the party the only program upon the basis of which the internal unity of the proletariat and the unity of the proletariat with the other popular forces was possible. He taught the party that a unity with reservations was inconceivable for Communists, and that unity could only be thought of in terms of the highest welfare of the working class and the people in their struggle against fascism. He purged the party of that narrow spirit which had kept it isolated, transforming it into an instrument which, during the war, was to make possible a sustained resistance to fascism, and which was to make possible, also, those tremendous democratic achievements which Spain was to witness.

No one, on the other hand, was more opposed than "Pepe" to that amorphous, unprincipled type of unity, in which unity appears as an end in itself, rather than as a means of realizing the aspirations of the working class and the people. For this reason he educated the party to maintain its political independence; for this reason he taught it to show its face openly to the masses; for this reason he gave the party always a clear trade union policy, which was brought forward and upheld by the comrades in union meetings, before the workers in factories, etc. For this reason he

kept alive in the party the spirit of self-criticism, teaching it to constructively criticize its allies as well, whenever any shortcomings deserving of criticism should appear. For it was this political independence and vital constructive criticism which alone were capable of forging an efficient, steel-hardened fighting unity.

It was a tempering of steel which he gave the party, educating it by his teachings and example in that self-abnegation in struggle which all true leaders display. He led it onward with an even stride through the great armed collisions of 1934 and 1936; and, following the defeats of 1934 and 1939, the party, thanks to him, was able to stage a retreat, without succumbing to demoralization and defeatism, and without ever once abandoning the struggle, no matter what the situation, however great the terror that prevailed. He gave the party that Bolshevik tempering which knows no fear or vacillation, inspiring it with a boundless audacity such as, in the government and in the army, in the factory and in the field, was to give birth to a truly astonishing constellation of leaders—astonishing for their number and their quality alike; and yesterday on the field of battle and today confronting the terror of Falange and Gestapo, there are veritable legions of heroes who are at once the pride and the example of the party and of the Spanish people.

José Díaz conferred upon the party the major virtues of an authentic Communist spirit. When the breath of victory threatened to

turn the heads of our comrades a little, he, through his own exemplary modesty, taught them to be modest by showing them what yet remained to be done. When the lash of defeat was felt, his exemplary firmness bestowed upon the entire party that strength and assurance which were indispensable, if it was to go on being the foremost in the struggle against these odds. To the militants he taught mobility and adaptability, practicality in work, and he was the implacable foe of all charlatanry, self-complacency and bureaucracy.

"Why has our party developed the way it has? . . . Because the masses have seen in the Communist Party a consistent strength of political leadership, a dependable guide for the people in their struggle for an order based on liberty and justice."

These words were spoken by José Díaz in November, 1937.

Yes, the Communist Party of Spain has become a great party of the masses, it has become a leading political force in the country. for the reason that José Díaz taught it to have no other interests and no other objectives than those of the working class and the people; because its only reason for being has been the serving of the working class and the people; because it cannot act except in unison and contact with the masses, in the forefront of those working class and popular masses in whose victorious future José Díaz all his life long so firmly believed.

* * *

"The supreme guarantee of final victory," said José Díaz, "is the unity of the people, of all the anti-fascist forces."

If this unity was to acquire the necessary consistency, if it was to be animated by the fighting spirit and decision essential for overcoming fascism at home and abroad, "Pepe" saw that it would have to be based upon and directed by the working class. His faith in the capabilities of this class, the class to which he himself belonged, was one that knew no bounds. For José Díaz was a worker and the son of workers. He had been a worker from his earliest years. From his earliest years, also, he had known what it meant to struggle. At the age of eighteen, he was the leader of his union, the "Aurora" Bakers' Union of Seville. During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, he had struggled ceaselessly, against the terror and in spite of the terror; he had been arrested, tortured, jailed for a long time. But his faith in the working class only grew with these experiences. And when to the virtues of his class and the extraordinary conditions under which he had struggled there was added as a complement a profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, he then came to understand all the better the basic importance of the proletariat in the nation; he realized that it must indeed be the principal force, directing the struggle of the people as a whole for a better way of life. But he also saw that the working class would not be capable

of fulfilling its role, so long as divisions existed within its ranks; he saw that there could be no unity of the people so long as the proletariat was divided.

From his post of leadership in the Communist Party his remarkably clear intelligence was uninterruptedly devoted to the task of working class enlightenment. His inexhaustible tenacity succeeded, after long years, in shattering the political abstentionism of a large sector of that class; he showed that the proletariat must carry its struggle onto the political field, with a platform of its own, one calling for resistance to the fascist peril and the improvement of the situation of the working class and the people. Another broad section of the class in question was brought through him to understand that governmental collaboration and an alliance with other popular forces had no meaning and was, in fact, worse than useless, unless it served to put down the fascist peril and to better living conditions, by conferring a greater potentiality upon the principal forces of the nation: the proletariat and the peasants. And so, treading a path filled with obstacles and difficulties such as only the Communist will of a José Díaz would have been capable of overcoming, the Spanish proletariat was led to acquire a degree of maturity and of unity such as rendered possible its transformation into a leading force of the nation, as the anti-fascist vanguard of the people. The insurrection of 1934 not only prevented the pro-fascist reaction from attaining power, but showed the

other popular forces the potentialities of the working class and stimulated them to group themselves around that class.

José Diaz brought to the bosom of the working class a consciousness of its own irrepressible strength; a consciousness of its role as a leading force of the entire nation; a consciousness of the real menace of fascism and the decisive character of the struggle which must be waged against it; and the resolve to struggle, without truce and without quarter, against this enemy of all humanity.

Upon the basis of unified action of the proletariat the Popular Front was born; and here again it was José Diaz who provided the inspiration; it was he who afforded the initiative for its creation and who set forth a program for it, in June, 1935, when the first savage onslaught of the pro-fascist hordes had thrown the popular forces into confusion. Then did José Diaz manifest his extraordinary qualities as a strategist, his profound knowledge of the people. He saw that the interests of the people lay together, and saw where the forces were that were capable of repelling and defeating fascism, and he propounded the idea for the grouping of these forces in the Popular Front, which a year later was to win the smashing electoral victory of 1936. When in the first months of the war the intervention of Italian-German fascism was shown to be a fact, it was once more José Diaz who clearly pointed out the necessity of extending the idea of unity to include all those elements de-

sirous of defending the fatherland, inasmuch as the war had now become truly a war for national independence. He dissipated all suspicions, overcame all difficulties, and did not relax his efforts until national union was a reality.

None knew better than he the tremendous potential strength of our enemy, yet his confidence in victory never wavered. That confidence was based upon his knowledge of the immense force which our unity constituted. For José Diaz, the unity of our people, to quote his own words, was not merely "a simple coalition of parties or the bringing together of a few leaders." It was, basically, a necessity profoundly felt by all the masses, an absolute identity of interests on the part of all the people, which gave them the resolution that was needed for going through with the greatest sacrifices.

Thus for José Diaz the most complete expression of unity, and at the same time its best guarantee, lay in the permanent mobilization of the masses, in their active and responsible participation in every phase of the government, at the front and at the rear, in the army and in the field of production. It was this mobilization of the masses which assured the application of, and gave efficacy to, those means of defense which our party, with so great a degree of foresight proposed, acting upon the inspiration of José Diaz. It was this that led to the disarming of the fascists in the early stages and which was responsible for their being held back on the various fronts. It was

this that assured the formation of a regular army, the centralization of its command, and the creation of reserves. It was this that caused a war industry to spring up out of nowhere and assured production in the countryside. And it was these mobilized masses that performed miracles of heroism, such as the defense of Madrid, an event with which the name of our leader is indissolubly bound up, and miracles of initiative such as were to be witnessed in the munitions plants.

José Diaz was the most vigilant and inflexible guardian of this active, fighting unity. When an intemperate "revolutionary extremism" threatened to disrupt the unity of industrial workers and patriotic plant-owners, it was our party which intervened to prevent this. But inasmuch as the working class was the one of which the greatest sacrifices were demanded, both at the front and in production, inasmuch as it was the one that brought the highest degree of consciousness and the greatest impetus to the struggle, and since it was the class that communicated its own resoluteness to the other elements, our party continued to struggle also for better working conditions, rates of pay, distribution of supplies, etc. And our party further struggled to see that, in the political administration of the country, this class was given the position of leadership which it merited by reason of its sacrifices, its consciousness, and its resoluteness.

In José Diaz all those who sought to impair the unity of the people encountered their most implacable

foe. He, acting through the party, was the one who took the initiative in the matter of suppressing the fifth columnists; it was he who, first of all, helped unveil the Trotskyites as the accomplices of the fascists. For a long time he busied himself with uncovering the hidden traitors and neutralizing their machinations; and when, in the heat of circumstances, these traitors, in combination with the Franco followers and the Munichmen, rose against the Republic, under the leadership of Casado, Mera and company, thereby breaking the unity of the people, our party, led by José Diaz, was the only one which pointed out to the working class and to the people the enormity of the crime which lay in such an act of treason, and it was the only one which, in conjunction with the people, fought against it, arms in hand.

For the working class and for the Spanish people, the figure of José Diaz will remain as the highest expression of unity, a unity placed at the service of an indomitable will to struggle against fascism and the fascist invader; it is the highest expression of that spirit of resistance with which our party, under José Diaz' leadership, inflamed the Spanish masses, the national union, and the government itself in the course of the war.

But the figure of José Diaz is above all the supreme expression of that unity, that continued, incessant, unflinching struggle which has been going on ever since the Franco invaders, thanks to the treacherous stab in the back by

Casado and his accomplices, succeeded in overthrowing the Republic. The Spanish people could not cease and have not ceased to struggle since this temporary defeat. As far back as November, 1937, Diaz proclaimed: "Our people know now what liberty means, and they will never give it up." And Diaz, as always, was right.

The struggle of the Spanish people has not ceased for one moment. It has done no more than undergo a change of form. The battle continues, within Spain and without. New crimes have been added to the list of those that have gone before; starvation has been carried to unimaginable extremes; the economic chaos could not be worse; the danger of being dragged into the war by the Nazis is an imminent one. All for the greater benefit of the fascist invaders. New strata of the population, which before were with Franco, now incline to the movement of national liberation, seeing that their salvation lies with the people and with the United Nations. And in this situation the party of José Diaz, under his guidance—that party which, even as Franco was entering Madrid, raised high the banner of continued struggle in unison with the people—this party still works, tirelessly and without respite, for the reconstruction of the National Union, and for the reconstitution of the Government of the Republic; it goes on working in order that Spaniards may not wait for victory through the efforts of others. It works outside of Spain, in exile. And it works inside of Spain, under the sinister

fire of the Falange-Gestapo terror, together with the working class and the people—at their head, in accordance with José Diaz' teachings—uniting their forces and leading them into battle against the invader and his lackeys. It works unsparing of strength or sacrifices, a tragically eloquent example of which is afforded by the recent shooting in Madrid of thirty-two of its picked leaders in the underground movement. At their head stood Isidoro Diegues, secretary of the party in Madrid, member of the Committee of Safety of Madrid in 1937 and foremost leader in the struggle against the uprising of Casado and company, a member of the party's political bureau and one of the closest and best disciples of our unforgettable chieftain.

In this implacably cruel struggle, in these tragic hours, the working class and the Spanish people feel themselves loyally bound as always to the Communist Party, feel that the work of José Diaz is a part of them. And it is his teaching on the subject of unity, it is his indomitable spirit which now leads them into battle and serves as their guide.

* * *

For nearly three years our people by their struggle held back the forces of fascist aggression, went through the tragedy of war, and defended world freedom and democracy. For nearly three years José Diaz did not cease to warn the world that the defeat of Republican Spain would accentuate the aggres-

siveness of fascism, would precipitate the outbreak of war, and would lead to the subjugation of other peoples. He did not cease to denounce the treason on a world scale that was represented by "non-intervention"; he did not cease to warn all countries of the inner danger for them which lay in Munich appeasement. With the foresight of the true political genius, he predicted the tragedy which, as time went on, events were to confirm. He insisted especially upon warning France, but her leaders—those same leaders who later were to betray the French people—would not listen to him. Time and again he turned to the trade union and Socialist Internationals, urging them to unity of action; for he believed that the international unity of the proletariat would be the deciding factor in the struggle against fascism.

Despite the fact that his warnings went unheard by those who later were to lead their country to ruin, José Diaz never doubted that the proletariat and the peoples would triumph over the fascist aggressor. His confidence never flagged in the international proletariat and, above all, in that of the U.S.S.R.

He well knew the potentialities of the U.S.S.R. and its leaders, who did so much to aid our people. He saw in the International Brigades, composed of the best representatives of each people, not merely an expression of international solidarity with Spain, but a passionate desire on the part of the peoples to combat fascism and halt its onward march; and he knew that

this popular will to struggle, aroused by the proletariat, would one day lead to the formation of a world bloc which would rout the enemies of civilization. He himself contributed all he could to hasten the formation of this world front against fascism; and had he been heard in time, the present war and its horrors would have been averted. However, the lessons drawn from our own war, which he, in November, 1938, offered to the peoples menaced by fascism, are still timely and worth heeding:

"The first thing is, if you wish to halt the advance of fascism, you must confront it with all the arms at your disposal, with decisiveness, and with courage, without yielding the slightest ground. The second thing is, in order to confront it, the people must be united."

José Diaz was one of the great leaders of the world working class, by reason of his experience, and by reason of that education which he gave the working class and the peoples desirous of defending themselves against fascism; by reason, too, of the benefits which the struggle of our own people—a struggle which he so closely and so ably directed—brought to all the world, by holding in check for three years the forces of war and aggression. He is one of the most brilliant figures among the defenders of peace and freedom.

But more than this: the work of José Diaz constituted, and constitutes today, an efficacious bulwark of defense for the American continent, and more particularly for the

United States. Back in November, 1933, in a radio broadcast to the American peoples, he had predicted: "If Spain should lose its freedom and independence, it would be transformed into a point of support for the expansion of the fascist dictatorships in America." And he added: "Yes, Spain will be the point of support for international fascism in carrying out that conquest of the Americas of which Hitler dreams." His prediction has been fulfilled. International fascism has launched a war against the American continent. It is an open secret that the Spanish air-fields, the coast and islands of Spain are bases of operation for the pirate planes and submarines in their attack upon American shipping in the Atlantic. It is an open secret that Spanish factories and Spanish workers are turning out the torpedoes which murder American sailors. It is an open secret that Hitler is reinforcing his military machine Spain, and that the embassies, consulates, all the Franco organizations on the American continent are agencies of propaganda, espionage and Axis sabotage, their present activity being no more than a token of what they will do if they can—what they have already done to American and Filipino soldiers.

Against this activity on the part of the Franco cohorts, the work of José Diaz rises like a veritable bulwark of defense for the Americas and the United States. If Hitler has not succeeded better than he has in establishing his military machine in Spain, if the Spanish factories and the Spanish workers do not

turn out more torpedoes than they do, if more efficient and open use is not made of the Spanish bases, if the coast of Africa is not yet dominated for the battle of the Atlantic, this is due to the fact that the heroic struggle which the Spanish people are still carrying on, in spite of the terror, has in good part restrained Hitler from openly dragging his Spanish lackeys into the war. If the activity of the Franco followers on the American continent is no more effective than it is, this is because the vigilant struggle of the Spanish emigrés and their American allies has prevented the Falangists from moving about with greater freedom. It is because the Spanish people, within and without Spain, are carrying on in defense of America that struggle which José Diaz inspired and directed; it is because they are continuing the struggle directed and guided by that party of which José Diaz was the leader. They continue to do so despite the Franco terror, in spite of that policy of appeasement toward Spain which the American Munichmen are still pursuing, and which renders the struggle all the more bloody and difficult.

* * *

José Diaz is dead. Dead of an illness contracted in prison on one of the occasions when he was jailed by the reactionaries. This illness, aggravated by the titanic labors which he performed in the service of the proletariat and the people, put an end to his precious existence. He died in the U.S.S.R., which he loved as he did his own Spain, at the very moment when those same

forces of barbarism which had burst upon his own land were attacking the Soviet Union. He knew, however, that the result of the struggle would not be the same. He knew that in the U.S.S.R. there are no Casados or Meras left. He knew that the unity of the U.S.S.R. is one that no force can shatter, that the helm of state is in the firm hands of that masterly genius, the great Stalin. He saw that world bloc of nations for which he had so labored already taking shape, in unison with the U.S.S.R. And along with the assured victory which this world front would bring, he beheld at the same time the nearing triumph of the Spanish people. Not to wait passively until victory should come at the hands of others: such was the last lesson which José Díaz taught his party and his people. To go on struggling, without truce or quarter, in order that victory might come the more speedily and be the less costly when it came: such was his last counsel.

The Spanish people will be faithful to their own glorious past; the Spanish people will fulfill the will of its great leader. And in the forefront of the people will go the Com-

munist Party of Spain, led by Ibarruri, by Uribe, by Checa, and all the other members of that political bureau which "Pepe" created and of which he was the soul.

As Dolores Ibarruri pledged, on the death of José Díaz:

"The experience of events within and without the country confirmed the profound conviction of José Díaz that only on the basis of national unity, on the basis of the close unification of all who are desirous of defending the integrity and independence of their native land can the aggressor be defeated, can the peoples save themselves from fascist domination.

"José Díaz! The party which you molded and trained and which is fearlessly fighting inside Spain, keeping alive the flame of resistance, will fulfill your last will by bringing about national unity as the basis of the liberation of our Spain, the Spain to which you devoted your whole life to its very end."

And so it is, the Spanish people in their ever-growing struggle against Hitlerism continue, and shall continue, to be inspired by the exemplary life and work of our own dear José Díaz.

FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THE RIO PLEDGES!

*(Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of
Argentina. Abridged text.)*

INTRODUCTION

THE sharp struggle now developing in Argentina between the pro-Axis and the anti-Hitler forces has the most direct bearing upon the security of the whole Western Hemisphere, including our own country. The issue at stake is whether the government of Acting President Castillo is to continue its present policy of "benevolent neutrality" to the Axis and of encouragement to the powerful fifth column within Argentina, or whether into an authentic National Government, representing the will of the Argentine people, will take those urgent steps necessary to preserve the independence of the country in collaboration with all the peoples of the continent.

The excerpts from the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, reprinted here, throw considerable light upon the situation in that country and show the policy being pursued by the most advanced anti-fascist forces. Although the resolution was acted upon at the begin-

ning of February, immediately following the Inter-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro and before the March elections for the Chamber of Deputies, the underlying situation has changed little during the past weeks and the main emphasis of the document is even more pertinent. In fact, recent events make it even more imperative that all the anti-Axis forces of Argentina achieve rapidly that unity of action which alone can attain the fulfilment of the agreements signed by the Argentine delegation at Rio de Janeiro and thus preserve the nation and bring it within the continental and world anti-Axis front.

Even within the limitations of the state of siege, which in practice restrains all the anti-Axis forces while permitting free play to the most outspoken protagonists of Hitler, the democratic sector of the anti-Hitler camp was able to retain its majority within the Chamber as a result of the March elections. This was a victory for the people, who in this way registered their staunch adhesion to the world anti-

Hitler front, led by the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain, despite all the repressive measures taken by the Castillo cohorts. This victory for the democratic forces resulted from the success of the Socialist and Radical Party lists in Buenos Aires, due in large part to the consistent anti-fascist policy of that wing of the Radical Party led by Deputy Raul Damonte Taborda and by the staunch unity policy of the Communists, who supported Taborda and threw their full support to the Socialist Party candidates when the Communist proposal for unified lists was rejected by the other democratic parties.

Also of great importance is the further development in Argentina during the past months of the popular movements in support of the United Nations. This is shown in the growth of the movement for material aid to the peoples fighting Hitlerism, especially to the Soviet Union, whose victories on the Eastern Front are of greatest encouragement to all the anti-Axis forces within the country. Of equal, if not greater, force has been the growing demand for the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union, which is now being supported not only by the workers' parties but by leading sectors of the Radicals and by important press organs of sections of the national bourgeoisie and the landowners.

However, despite the people's mandate at the March elections, the Castillo Government has still shown no indication of fulfilling the Rio

pledge to sever relations with the Axis. On the contrary, it has continued to override the will of the people in one high-handed action after another leading to even closer collaboration with the Axis. While permitting refuge to the Axis agents now being evicted from neighboring countries and allowing the Nazi publications to circulate freely, the government continues to hamper and repress the activities and publications of the anti-Axis parties, only recently suspending for fifteen days the popular anti-Axis daily *La Hora*, interfering with the Socialist publication *Vanguardia*, arresting leaders of the Democratic Committee for Aid to Free Peoples, which comprises representatives of various anti-fascist parties, and taking other steps of similar fascist orientation.

In the field of foreign relations government actions have been no less pronounced. The harboring of Axis agents in Argentina is turning that country into the fifth column headquarters for South America, which can be only a matter of greatest concern to all the neighboring countries. Continued obstruction to continental measures for defense, and the studied hostility incited by the Castillo Government against the United States and other members of the United Nations, are detrimental to the best interests not only of Argentina but of all the republics of the Hemisphere. The recent barter agreement between Argentina and Franco Spain, announced from Madrid, indicates clearly the pronounced pro-Axis direction of government policy.

As a result of these governmental activities, which do not even have the support of all sectors of the coalition supporting Castillo, the contradiction between the policy now being pursued and the will of the people has become even sharper. Argentina is now approaching a severe crisis, the outcome of which will determine the immediate fate of that country and will affect the course of events in the whole hemisphere, particularly in Chile and Brazil. The impact of war developments this spring and summer, especially on the decisive front in Europe, is bound to have direct repercussions in Argentina and will play no small part in determining the outcome of the internal crisis. So closely interlinked is the specific Argentine situation with the immediate course of the war, that the opening of a western front in Europe by Britain and the United States, can well prove to be one of the decisive factors determining what course Argentina, and with her Chile, will take in the next months.

In any case, the immediate rapprochement of all the anti-Axis forces in Argentina and their energetic pressure upon the Castillo Government for the fulfilment of the agreements of Rio de Janeiro, as called for in the resolution of the Communist Party, are the only course toward the positive solution of the crisis. The resolution of the Argentine Communists again demonstrates that they, like the Communists throughout the Hemisphere, have been able to place the real interests of their nation in the midst

of this greatest crisis of world history above all other considerations. As the most loyal and consistent fighters for national anti-Axis unity and for the incorporation of Argentina into the world anti-Axis front, our Argentine comrades again prove that the best interests of the working class are identified with the best interests of the nation. This can be best appreciated only if one understands in its full significance the firm position taken by the Communist Party of Argentina in favor of cooperation with the United States in strengthening the continental and world front against the Axis. Keeping in mind that Argentina is a country of a semi-colonial type in the sense that it has been subject to imperialist exploitation by both Britain and the United States, as the result of which its own national development has been hampered, the position taken by the staunchest defenders of the national interest, the Communists, for full and loyal cooperation with the anti-Hitler coalition, including the United States especially, is a true mark of national political leadership and world statesmanship. This brings additional weight to bear on the fundamental truth that the most effective and the firmest base of inter-American unity is to be found precisely in the labor and democratic forces of Latin America, of which the Communists are an integral part.

Labor and progressive forces, including the Communists, in the United States are in an especially favorable position for furthering the unity of the anti-Axis, particularly

of the labor and democratic forces on a hemispheric and world scale. The C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., especially if they contribute by their initiative to the further unfolding of the anti-Axis policy of the Administration, are in a position to cooperate effectively with the Latin American Confederation

of Workers (C.T.A.L.) to the end of forging labor hemispheric unity along with unity of action with the trade unions of England, the Soviet Union and China. Such initiative on the part of labor will play no small part in helping rally all the anti-Axis forces of the Americas.

JAMES S. ALLEN.

THE RESOLUTION

THE armed aggression of the powers of the fascist Axis against the U.S.A. and, therefore, against the countries of Latin America, took place in the treacherous manner that was to be expected. Deceiving those who believed they could keep the continent outside the conflict, the aggressors made their attack when they believed it necessary to their plans of dominating and enslaving all the peoples of the world. In the same way, direct aggression against any other country in the American continent can take place at any moment suitable to the aggressors, unless it be prevented by the combined action of the countries of the Americas and of all the countries fighting against the Axis powers.

In the midst of this emergency, and echoing the sentiments of their peoples, the governments of the American countries met in a Conference of Chancellors to agree upon urgent measures to safeguard their security, integrity and independence. The peoples of the whole continent, among them the Argen-

tinian people, gave the conference at Rio de Janeiro their warm support, for they expected from it *effective* measures against the aggressors, such as the immediate and unanimous severance of relations by the governments of the Americas with the Axis powers, and the arrangement of joint action of an economic and military nature to ensure the freedom and independence of every country in the continent.

Although this was the desire of the peoples, the conference was confronted with great obstacles, created by Nazism with the aim of dividing the countries of the continent the easier to subjugate them. These obstacles were overcome in great part, and although the resolutions are not as strong as the critical situation demands, the final result was that all the governments of the Americas, *including our own*, established the reciprocal pledge to break diplomatic and economic relations with Germany, Japan and Italy, and to undertake joint action of a military nature against the aggressors. The governments of nine-

teen Republics, with the unanimous backing of their peoples, have already fulfilled these agreements, and the peoples of Argentina and Chile are anxious to have their governments do the same.

Yet, against that will of the people, the government of our country continues to postpone the application of the decisions of the Rio conference and, furthermore, does not show the least intention of applying them. It maintains obstinately its "neutral" position, and, in open contradiction to the agreements of Rio, continues to allow the anti-Argentine activities of the fifth column, permits the existence of its organizations, does not prevent its propaganda—its official daily, *El Pampero*, continues to be published—and, instead, continues to persecute the trade union and political organizations of the working class, the democratic parties and their press, the Argentinian patriots who struggle against the fifth column and for the freedom and independence of the nation.

Such deeds would not have been possible nor could they continue, had the leaders of the labor and democratic forces responded to the will for victory of the people, interpreted by the Communist Party when it proposed the creation of a national front to coordinate the actions of all the Argentinian patriots, without distinction of parties or classes, for the defense of the economic, political and social interests of our people, for the defense of constitutional liberties and national independence.

* * *

The resolutions of the Conference of Chancellors at Rio de Janeiro should be considered as the answer of the peoples of the American continent to the armed aggression of the fascist Axis. The struggle for the *realization* of the Rio agreements must be the objective for which, from now on, the democratic forces and all the Argentinian patriots must unite. National unity has, therefore, one more reason for its realization: the struggle for the application of the decisions at Rio. The loyal fulfilment of these decisions means the defense of the fatherland, of democracy, of freedom and of civilization threatened by the barbarian Nippon-Nazi-fascist Axis. It will assure the economic and military defense of the continent and repression of the treacherous activities of the Nazi-fascist fifth column in our country and in neighboring countries.

The full application of the Rio resolutions would be a serious blow to the Axis and would constitute a safeguard for the military and political security of the nations of the continent, as shown by the fact that the aggressor powers have tried to *frighten* some of the countries participating in the conference with "warnings" which clearly show their aggressive aims with regard to South America. The Axis powers know that the defense of the cities and of the coasts of the countries of our hemisphere is not an easy problem unless it is done jointly. That is why they try to divide us. They try to divide not only the countries but the people within each nation with the pur-

pose of making each country defenseless before the enemy.

In Argentina the danger of the fifth column—organized by the German Ambassador von Therman and reinforced by Hitler agents who flock to our land continuously from other countries which expel them—is very great, for it has armaments, dozens of thousands of militarized civilians, numerous accomplices who have infiltrated into the organizations of the state, and it enjoys the benevolent tolerance of the government. Since the Rio conference, the German, Italian and Japanese fascist organizations existing in our country are working more slyly than before, but now they utilize more and more the organizations of the Falange Española to carry on their anti-Argentine activities, sheltering their criminal activity under the flag of a "neutral" country.

In view of these facts, in defense of the safety and the independence of our threatened nation, it is urgent for all the political sectors, all the workers' and people's organizations, all the patriots, to coordinate their actions and forge the national unity of the Argentines for the purpose of assuring the *effective, loyal and rapid* fulfillment of the agreements made by our country at the Rio conference. This means to struggle for the following objectives:

(a) For the immediate severance of diplomatic and economic relations with the powers of the Axis and their vassals; for the signing by Argentina of the pact of the United Nations; for the immediate recognition of the U.S.S.R. and the estab-

lishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with her.

(b) For the application of drastic measures, such as those beginning to be applied by the governments of other countries of the Americas, against the organizations, press, agents and accomplices of the Nippon-Nazi-fascist fifth column.

(c) For the rapid organization of national defense: considerable increase of the land, sea and air forces; patrolling of our coasts and maritime routes; fortification of certain vulnerable points in our territory; establishment of air-naval bases for joint utilization by the American countries; the immediate acquisition of war material for the equipment of a great modern army; creation of a national war industry; and the coordination of these military measures with those of the other countries of Latin America, and, particularly, with those of the government of the U.S.A.

(d) For the initiation of an economic, financial and commercial policy of close cooperation with the U.S.A., with the other nations of the continent and with the countries fighting in the world front for freedom—particularly with the U.S.S.R.—aiming to strengthen the capacity for armed defense of our people and of the friendly peoples, and to strengthen the independent bases of our economy in anticipation of the disturbances that may spring from the war and post-war situations.

* * *

It is to be expected that the Axis will launch an offensive to cut the

sources of supply over the Atlantic. This situation places our country—which, as a source of supply, draws particularly the attention of the Nazi-fascist aggressors—in an immediate and growing danger. The strategic territory of the Straits of Magellan and of Patagonia is exposed to an attack jointly by the Japanese and the militarized German organizations already established in that zone. The vital maritime routes which ensure our commercial exchange with abroad are directly threatened by a German attack, as evidenced by the attacks to which the maritime transports of Brazil have been subjected. Our harbors, oil wells and storage depots, located on the coast, are in danger of suffering the same or worse attacks than those recently suffered by the refineries of the island of Aruba, located off the coast of Venezuela. Our cities are at the mercy of the same barbaric methods of destruction to which were subjected Almeria, London and Manila.

Our people are in great part unarmed in the face of these threats. The most serious thing is that those in the government who ought to place our people on the alert with clear and unequivocal words hide the danger from them. In view of this situation, increase in the armed forces is undoubtedly an important measure. But taking into account that this *a war of motors*, we need an army well equipped with modern arms and mechanical means, a large aviation force, coastal defense and patrol of our waters and communications by an efficient navy.

To achieve these objectives with the extreme urgency required by the seriousness of the situation, the first condition is for the government to establish close and loyal collaboration with the U.S.A., the only country which under the present situation can supply us *rapidly* with the elements necessary for the national defense.

On the other hand, experience has shown that without an organized, disciplined rear, protected from the attacks of the enemy—the object of which is to sow panic and chaos—no defense can be realized effectively. This demands that the *whole population* be trained militarily, be trained to safeguard itself from air raids, to extinguish fires, to protect itself against gasses, to face parachutists. To that effect it is necessary to organize people's committees for civilian defense, by cities, boroughs and towns. It is necessary, besides, to create a corps of civilian nurses to assist the population, to build air raid shelters and to adopt, finally, all measures to place the country and the people on a war footing. These measures must be realized by the government officials in collaboration with the trade union organizations, the political parties, the women and youth organizations, the sport clubs, etc. The organization of committees for civilian defense must be undertaken immediately by popular initiative.

* * *

The government has given the necessary orders to place under arms 100,000 citizens. The Argen-

tinian people attribute to this measure the aim of strengthening the armed defense of the nation against the threats of the Axis. The Communist Party considers this measure the first positive result of pressure by the people, the democratic press and the patriotic sections of the national army in favor of the fulfillment of the agreements of Rio. Because of this, the Communists support extraordinary conscription, and invite all Argentines to fulfill their duties with enthusiasm, devotion and perfect consciousness that Argentine arms must serve *only* to defend the fatherland and democracy against the fascist aggressors outside and inside. The Central Committee exhorts the members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth, called to the army, to be the *first* to take their posts and show patriotism, responsibility and discipline in the defense of national independence and freedom.

The most authoritative circles of the armed forces of the nation demand a foreign policy leading to close and effective cooperation with the U.S.A. in the organization of our national defense. The national army urgently needs great quantities of sea, air and land armaments, as well as industrial equipment for creating war material factories.

They realize that these defense materials would arrive more quickly in the amounts needed if the government were to follow a foreign policy of loyal, open and categorical collaboration with the other American republics on questions of continental defense, and break with the Axis and its fifth column. The na-

tional army can and should count with the determined cooperation of the working class and of all the democratic and patriotic forces of the country in its efforts to strengthen the armed defense of the nation, of its sovereignty and its institutions, threatened by the powers of the fascist Axis.

On the other hand, the adoption of precautions of a military nature has meaning and effectiveness only to the extent that the government, fulfilling the various agreements of the Rio conference, carries on an energetic, tenacious and untiring struggle against the Hitlerite fifth column all over the country and, very especially, within the organizations of the state. The armed forces must be thoroughly purged of the agents and accomplices of the enemy. This is the condition for effective national defense, as shown by the tragic experiences of this war; it is also the aspiration of the overwhelming majority of the chiefs and officers of the Argentine army, loyal to their fatherland and the constitution. Measures of a spectacular character for defense against attack from abroad lack seriousness unless they are accompanied by these primary measures of internal security, and unless the patriotic and democratic forces within the country are granted the necessary guarantees and freedom to develop their initiative, their capacity for organizing and their fighting power in the internal and external defense of the fatherland.

From this point of view, the immediate lifting of the State of Siege—which, although it was adopted

with the pretext of combating the fifth column, harms and restrains exclusively the forces that *really* fight against the fifth column—becomes an urgent measure in defense of the nation's internal security.

As shown by the tragic experience of three years of war, the powers of the Axis attack treacherously in the back, in joint action with the fifth column, and, taking their victims by surprise, crush and enslave them before they have time to resist effectively. The agents of the Axis, the native betrayers of the fatherland, endeavor to ridicule the possibility of a surprise attack by the Axis powers against our country, attempting in this way to help the aggressor take us by surprise. To save our people from the terrible consequences of aggression, it is necessary to be alert and prepare them for their defense. It is necessary to end the atmosphere of complacent confidence and criminal lack of concern in which they try to keep the people by hiding from them the seriousness of the situation and the prospect of aggression. Even if that is not done by official circles, it is necessary for the Communists, the anti-fascists, all the Argentine patriots to unite their efforts in a great national campaign arousing the people to the grave perils threatening them, to mobilize and organize the people for the defense of the fatherland and democracy.

* * *

The Rio conference considered the problem of the economic stability of the Latin American countries and the help that the U.S.A. could offer

them in this respect. As a consequence of Axis aggression, Argentina has begun to suffer sharply from the inherent consequences of the state of war which, in reality, all the Latin American countries are in at present. The most serious problems are: the need for markets for our agricultural and cattle products; the import requirements of our country; the need of shipping facilities for the transportation of our imports and exports. These disturbances are reflected in an indirect way in the prices of many consumers' goods, contributing to increase the already swollen cost of living. Speculation takes advantage of this situation of crisis to increase the level of prices in an artificial manner, harming the consuming population and national production. And this happens when the continent has scarcely entered into the war, thus portending the threat of greater imminent troubles.

In the face of these difficulties arising from the war situation, the majority of the landowners and capitalists react in a manner harmful to the interests of the national economy and, ultimately, to themselves. The landowners propose as a "solution" of the agricultural crisis to evict the agricultural producers and to replace agriculture with cattle-raising, as a means of preventing the accumulation of the grain crops which for the time being have no markets abroad. Such measures are in open contradiction to the national interests, which, far from requiring the brutal uprooting of the men cultivating the land, demand, on the contrary, that

thousands and tens of thousands of new agricultural producers be established in the countryside in order to *diversify* agrarian production and adapt it to the needs of the war economy and the industrial development of the country. On their side, the industrial enterprises affected by the lack of imported raw materials, as well as other enterprises, tend to lower wages and restrict and even stop production, throwing out the workers. This policy also clashes openly with the national interest, which demands not only that the existing industries be made to work at full capacity, but that *new industries* be created by exploiting the raw materials existing in the country and by purchasing those lacking in neighboring countries by increasing commercial exchange with them. The policy of evictions and dismissals, added to speculation and increase in prices, can result only in further deepening the general crisis. That is why not only the working class and the people but also the most enlightened and far-seeing sections of the landowners, industrialists and merchants, through their great press organs and other means, every day increasingly demand that the government rectify its present international policy and approach in a loyal and open manner the U.S.A. and the other countries of the Americas in order to obtain the necessary facilities to place Argentinian products in the American markets, the necessary authorizations for the import of raw materials needed for our industries, the machinery necessary to extend our industrial equipment

and the liberal credits that the Government of Washington, through the Lend-Lease Law, grants to the friendly countries to finance their plans for economic and military defense during the war period.

It is evident that our country is approaching a situation of extremely sharp crisis, which has no possible solution except through an immediate rectification of the domestic and foreign policies of the government. The other path, that of the eviction of agricultural producers, of closing factories, of dismissal of workers, of the raising of the prices of consumer goods, of speculation and usury and of measures of repression against the working class and the people, leads to an acceleration and deepening of the crisis.

* * *

One of the measures to revive our foreign commerce is the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with the U.S.S.R. At this moment the purchase of Argentine products by the U.S.S.R. is being considerably increased. Soviet ships visit our harbors and the harbors of other countries in South America. These Argentine products—contrary to those that go to Spain—contribute to strengthen the world front of those defending the freedom and independence of the peoples, including ours, against Hitlerite aggression. But, to encourage and intensify this exchange which, from all points of view, favors the *national* interests, it is necessary for the workers and democratic forces to support vigorously the bill of the

Radical Deputy Stanchina on the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with the U.S.S.R. and demand from the government, in the interest of our economy and our country, the fulfillment of this aspiration of the Argentine people.

While renewing commercial exchange with the U.S.S.R., the government must strictly fulfill the agreement of the Rio conference recommending the breaking of commercial relations with the powers of the Axis, which implies cutting the shipment of foodstuff to Franco Spain and to other vassal countries of these powers. These foodstuffs are not destined for the Spanish people nor for other "neutrals," but help to feed the aggressor armies in order that they may continue the war against the Allies. It is not possible for the Argentine Government, after it subscribed to the agreements of Rio, to continue supplying vital elements to the powers at war with the American Republics. This scandal must cease immediately. It is demanded by the honor of the Argentine nation, pledged before the whole world. All patriots and democrats must unite their efforts to obtain the definitive suspension of commerce between our country and the hangman Franco, starver of the Spanish people and commercial and political agent of Hitler.

An evident demonstration of the understanding of the Argentinian people of the need to join—in self-defense—the great world battle against the aggressors and enslavers of the Axis, is the volume attained by the people's movement for aid

to the U.S.S.R., England and to all the peoples resisting Hitlerite aggression. The organizations for aid are coordinating their actions and are proceeding toward unification, this being an expression of the profound unity of sentiments guiding the people in this noble task of solidarity. The immense sacrifices made by the people and the army of the Soviet Union, the extreme sharpness of the struggle coming during the next months in all the fronts of the war, require that the movement for aid to the U.S.S.R., England and all the peoples attacked be continued and greatly broadened.

* * *

The political situation of the country is characterized by the fact that the contradiction between the *will* of the Argentinian people and the actions of the government are every day more pronounced. Such a situation cannot last long, because it creates a state of restlessness which is shown in all spheres of national life. While the Argentinian people demand an energetic policy of national defense, the present government, which has yielded, after long resistance and reservations, to sign the pledges of Rio, does not show any disposition to fulfill them. Instead of taking strong measures against the fifth column of Nazi-fascism and lending its support to the Committee Investigating Anti-Argentinian Activities, elected by the House of Deputies, it persecutes the most determined defenders of the fatherland and the constitution: the Communists and the ad-

vanced anti-fascists. The national government gives a blank check to the illegal Special Section (of the police) to raid without warrant the offices of several centers of democratic, anti-fascist and pro-Argentine propaganda like the newspapers *La Hora*, *Orientacion*, and *Avanzada*, as well as *La Vanguardia*, for publishing an article by the President of the Investigation Commission, Deputy Damonte Taborda. At the same time the popular publishing house *Problemas* has been closed without warrant and, it is asserted, without even a government order, violating the freedom of commerce and the essential guarantees of the constitution.

These arbitrary measures against the democratic press and against the Communists are only one aspect of the persecutions against those democratic parties which struggle for the fulfillment of the Rio agreements. It is evident that these measures not only are far from being in accord with the agreements signed at Rio, but openly contradict them. But the present government will continue to be deaf to the clamor of the people, and this situation will not change unless the anti-fascists and the Argentine patriots unite and struggle in a common front for a genuinely national government which instead of protecting the narrow interests of a group of reactionary and pro-fascist oligarchs, will defend the interests of the Argentine nation and of the toiling population.

The peculiarity of the political situation of our country lies in the fact that, even though popular sen-

timent and public opinion show themselves more and more in favor of the joining of all the patriotic forces of the nation for the defense of its security, of its independence and of its constitutional regime, the process of national unity develops with a very slow tempo which does not correspond to the exigencies of the national and international situation. The lack of unity is principally due to the lamentable circumstance that many leaders of democratic parties continue to place immediate electoral interests above the essential and permanent interests of the fatherland and of democracy, which are seriously threatened by the armed aggression of the Axis and by the daily advances of reaction and Nazi-fascism in our country.

It is true that the leadership of some democratic parties, echoing the sentiments of the mass of their followers, have pronounced themselves publicly in favor of national unity. Yet, when it is a question of carrying it out in practice, they allege all kinds of difficulties and differences which can not be accepted by men and sectors which really desire the union of the democratic forces and of the whole people. The Communist Party, showing a great example of how to place the general interests of the country above the exclusive interests of party and above narrow electoral advantages, invited all the democratic parties to participate in the elections united around single electoral lists under the slogan "Not one seat for the reactionary and pro-fascist candidates!" But the

very parties benefiting by this proposal have refused to establish such unity of action. On the other hand, other parties, which have no possibility of victory, have returned to their sectarian position of upholding their own list of candidates, without taking into account that the votes—few or many—which they take from the leading democratic lists may favor the election of reactionary and fascist candidates. . . .

The democratic parties having refused to listen to our proposal for unity—some of them did not even answer us—the Communist Party decided to give its support to the list of the Socialist Party, having taken into consideration that it is the only party that issued an electoral platform of an anti-fascist character; at the same time our party appealed to the people to give their vote to the radical candidate Raul Damonte Taborda, for his merits as consistent fighter against Nazi-fascism and in favor of national defense, shown by his patriotic labor as president of the Commission Investigating Anti-Argentinian Activities. . . .

In the face of this situation, the tasks of the Communists and of the most enlightened anti-fascists is to strive with determination for the unification of the labor, people's and democratic forces of the country, to make them understand that their joint action would exercise sufficiently strong pressure to confront the government with the inescapable alternative of changing the direction of its national and international policies, getting rid of the most pronouncedly reactionary and

pro-fascist elements. This result will be facilitated by the circumstance that the present government lacks homogeneity and includes some men and sections which are sensitive to popular pressure.

In any case, the fundamental guarantee to the initiation of a new foreign and domestic policy, orientated toward the unification of the anti-Hitlerite forces on a world and national scale, is the formation of a real *National Government*, that is, of a government representing all the sectors within the country struggling for the defense of the fatherland and of democratic institutions, against their fascist enemies.

Meanwhile, the Central Committee of the Communist Party decides to ratify the line laid down in the memorandum that the Executive Committee presented for consideration to the national political parties on the occasion of the declaration of a State of Siege, in which it is asserted that:

"In case the government continues its policy of hostility toward the activity of the democratic and anti-Nazi forces, of the advocates of collaboration with the U.S.A., of those supporting continental defense against the Nazi-fascist aggressors, the working class and all the democratic forces must *foster, advance and support* all the patriotic measures and initiatives, no matter where they come from, whose objective is to strengthen the defense of the nation and destroy the aggressor forces of the Axis. Whatever may be the conditions under which these forces have to act, in the interest of the national safety and defense, they must work toward

the end that the foreign policy of the country shall orientate itself toward the participation of Argentina in the continental and world front of struggle against Hitlerism and the aggressor powers of the Axis. All the other questions of domestic policy must be considered in relation to this central aim and subordinate to it. The working class and the people, their parties and organizations must unite on a national, provincial and local scale to struggle for constitutional normality, for national unity, for a national government ensuring the freedom and independence of the fatherland and ready to prepare our country to participate in the great continental and world fronts against the enslavers of the peoples."

In spite of knowing the political line which shapes all the activity of our party—a line basically democratic and patriotic—the government continues to prevent its public actions and places obstacles in the way of the patriotic work of our members. Those persecuting the Communists refuse to acknowledge the evidence that our party, a party of the working class and of the people, is the *most consistent* and loyal defender of the liberty and independence of our nation. The cause for which the Communist patriots struggle is just and will be victorious. It is the sacred cause defended by all civilized peoples and by all honest men of the world in these supreme moments for the future of the nation and of all humanity. The struggle to make this cause victorious has its alternatives,

its difficulties, its urgencies and demands great sacrifices both on a world and national scale. But today nobody can doubt that, as a whole, the development of events outside and inside our country leads to the victory of that cause. In the forefront of this cause—for which the peoples of England, the Soviet Union, the U.S.A., and China are unitedly fighting—are the peoples and armies of the Soviet Union, led by the genius of Stalin, the undisputed guide of the gigantic struggle of liberation carried on by all the peoples subjugated and enslaved by Nazi barbarism. The Central Committee urges the Communists, therefore, to persist with tenacity and determination along the path shown by the Tenth Congress of the party, which is the path of the fighting unity of the working class and of the people, for the unity of the Argentine nation. Certain of the support of its class and of the best forces of the people, the Communists must work for the uninterrupted growth of the party, which, as the vanguard detachment of the working class, is the best guarantee of the victory of the whole Argentine people. The banner of struggle that our party strives to lift high is the banner of those who, in all countries of the world, inspired by the example of the heroism of the Bolshevik patriots, struggle in defense of the independence of *their* nation and of liberty. The victory of civilization over Nazi-fascist barbarism is certain.

THE SECOND FRONT AND THE GERMAN PEOPLE

BY B. HANS

A PEOPLE waging a just war develops tremendous moral forces, countless heroes, a great readiness to bear all sufferings and to work and fight under the worst conditions. It is quite different when a people is led into an unjust war, a war of conquest. Among the people of an aggressor state, the difficulties and reverses of the war intensify every internal rift and disunity, and strengthen the opposition and the revolutionary movement of the masses. Such a process of developing opposition is taking place in Nazi Germany today. The opening of a second front by the United Nations in Western Europe would bring into play a German rear which is increasingly ready to strike Hitler in his very stronghold.

There can be no doubt that, in all strata of the peoples attacked by Hitler and his allies, the call grows ever louder and stronger for an offensive and for the opening of a second front against the main enemy, Hitler Germany. Nevertheless, the Nazi propaganda still succeeds in inducing many "organs of publicity" in Britain and America to carry on a defensive propaganda. It is an unfortunate fact that a part of the American press, and many

"experts," not to speak of the defeatist press, spend much of their time in speculations as to where Hitler will attack in the spring. Of course, it is necessary to take careful note of the enemy's preparations and plans, so as not to be taken by surprise; but to develop from this a whole defensive propaganda is harmful and dangerous, the more so since such propaganda, however it may camouflage itself with the word "offensive," in the last analysis reflects the wish not to take the offensive and not to organize a second front.

Such propaganda serves objectively to steady the Hitler regime and lessen the force of the growing unrest of the German people. For instance, Hitler in his March 15 speech was not forced to explain away the danger of a universal offensive and the opening by the United Nations of the second front, which he fears so much. He did not need at that time to waste a word on the danger that Nazi Germany would be attacked in the spring by the Soviet Union's allies in concerted action with the Red Army offensive. He could, however, speak then of his own spring offensive against the U.S. S.R. Hitler still did not need to take

up the question of a second front in that speech, because there still was no propaganda from the Soviet Union's allies hammering into the German people the message: "We Americans and British are coming in the spring with thousands of tanks and airplanes, and hundreds of thousands of soldiers, to attack jointly with the Soviet Union. In the spring we will begin the great offensive against Hitler for the liberation of the enslaved peoples." Such propaganda would effectively answer attempts of the Hitler regime to revive the shaken morale and the shaken offensive spirit of his troops.

Stalin, in his speech of last November 6, named among the factors that guarantee the coming victory for the United Nations, "the instability of Hitler's German rear." Stalin emphasized this point at a time when the Hitler armies could still point to considerable successes, when they still were dazzling great numbers of the German people with their victory propaganda, when the frightful losses of the Nazi armies were only just beginning to be known among the people, and when Hitler was still proclaiming final victory over the Soviet Union as right around the corner.

Stalin's words are strikingly corroborated by one of the most important documents on Nazi Germany to appear since June 22, 1941: the letter of K. Erwin,* an active Berlin Communist worker, on developments in Germany from June 22 to the beginning of December. (With what interest Earl Browder,

who has aided the underground movement against Hitler so greatly, would today read that letter!) This Berlin worker points out in detail the mighty and rapid changes which are beginning to develop among the different strata of the German population under the impact of the war against the Soviet Union. On the basis of his own experiences and observations, and those of the organization to which he belongs, he proves "the growing instability of the German rear."

He describes the rifts which are already beginning to manifest themselves in the system of Nazi rule, the differences and enmities between the various cliques within the Nazi camp coming to the surface again. He reports the fear of the Nazis that in case of serious difficulties the generals, supported by part of the officer corps, might turn against Hitler and seize power. He reports that the old school of officers regard Hitler as an adventurer, an ignoramus in the matter of conducting the war. The generals are offended by the treatment they receive from Hitler, who takes credit for all successes and blames them for all failures. A considerable number of generals and officers consider the war against the Soviet Union a mistake. They bring the charge against Hitler that Germany has been isolated by his policy, and that the political leadership has failed as in the last World War. The sharpening contradictions between the Nazis and the officers are another reflection of the growing opposition of some sections of the bourgeoisie to the Hitler regime: these contemplate the future with

* K. Erwin, "From the Intoxication of Victory to Bitter Sobering," *World Survey*, March, 1942.

horror because of the new situation which has arisen from the war against the Soviet Union.

Of course, it would be a mistake to place one's chief hopes on these processes, as certain refugee Social-Democrats do, but they are of symptomatic significance as an expression of the increasingly acute situation in the German rear.

The author of the Berlin letter shows that, parallel with the manifestations in the upper classes, the movement against the Hitler regime gains strength among the "lower classes," particularly the working class. The workers begin to listen to the Communist slogans and to follow them. But the discontent and growing activity are not restricted to the workers: they have spread to the peasants, the "white collar" workers, and the city petty bourgeoisie. The author analyzes also the altered attitude of the soldiers, who are beginning to lose their former unquestioning confidence. This Berlin Communist does not ignore the weaknesses of the underground movement—he criticizes it mercilessly. But precisely because he is a man who does not mistake his wishes for reality, this letter is strong evidence of the hopeful development in the German rear.

It must also be remembered that this letter was written at the beginning of December, and hence before those months when the Nazi armies met the hardest blows, before they fully learned the lessons of the mighty weapons, the heroic spirit, the superior strategy of the Red Army, and the extreme winter cold—when there still were very

many German soldiers alive who are dead now. Besides, since December the economic situation of the "lower classes" has grown considerably worse even than it was before. Rations have been decreased 25 per cent, the shortage of food and necessities increases tremendously, speed-up in industry has been further intensified and pay lessened accordingly (overtime pay and wages abolished, and all pay put on a piece-work, that is, sweat-shop basis).

Furthermore, the letter was written just as the United States came into the war, so that it was not yet possible to indicate the tremendous defeatist effect of this world-historic event on all strata of the German population.

Many reports from the Soviet Union describe the changing attitude of the German soldiers. The newspaper *Red Star* on April 3, 1942, said:

"As the war developed, the German Army underwent far-reaching changes, and the Nazi soldier of March, 1942, in no way resembles the Hitlerite who crossed the Soviet frontier in June, 1941, dizzy with easy victory.

"The first basic feature of these changes is that Hitler's best regular divisions have been lost forever under the blows of the Red Army. The so-called 'Spring' reserves are made up, in the main, of older age-groups, of men who had seen Germany's defeat in 1918. These are not youths who from childhood were duped by Nazi propaganda.

"The German Army's new contingents have a far lower fighting efficiency than the regular Hitler

troops. Prussian discipline, implanted in the German Army, is already beginning to crack. The relations between men and officers is not the same as before.

"The German soldier is not yet disobeying, but under the influence of defeat, he is already beginning to think and this is one symptom of the latent process of disintegration among the enemy troops."

George Alexandrov, chief of the Propaganda Division of the Central Committee, C.P.S.U., says, in an article entitled "Hitler's 'Morale Front' Faces Catastrophe":

"The Hitlerites have announced the formation of a so-called 'morale front.' This Hitler 'morale front' was conceived by its organizers as a means of overcoming the crisis among the people and army. This crisis could no longer be denied even by the Hitler High Command."

In fact, the terrible experiences, the fiasco before Moscow, the rapidly altering composition of the German army as a result of frightful losses, have caused these beginnings of a change in the attitude of the German soldiers. Hitler's plan to wage the war to the end with ten military classes—that is, with about six million men of the politically most reliable ages, eighteen to twenty, and utilize those of less reliable ages for less important duties—has been wrecked on the battlefield, and with it the whole aim of the Nazi propaganda, to make the Nazi soldiers proof against thinking.

Before the outbreak of the war, German generals were writing dozens of books and articles, making countless laboratory tests, in their preoccupation with the problem of

preventing a crisis of morale in war. General Metz described the German morale measures as "tying a mental gas mask" on the soldiers and people to protect them from the disintegrating influences of the enemy. He warned most emphatically that the question "Why are we at war?" must be raised as little as possible. The Nazi "theoretician" Dr. Karl Pintschovius, in his book, *Die seelische Widerstandskraft im modernen Kriege* (Mental Resistance Power in Modern War) (1936), wrote:

"The war must be inspiring. Only so long will it really be fought. The will to fight of the German people has become the most sensitive point in the front. This is due to the so-called 'total war,' which is much more liable to be a curse to us than to be our salvation."

How prophetic! The reports of the German soldiers who are beginning to think show clearly that the "mental gas mask" is already full of holes.

Reports prove also that the situation among the civilian population in Germany has become acute since December. For instance, Tass stated March 30, 1942:

"The announcement of a reduction of bread rations (25%) in Germany two weeks ago caused riots in Cologne, Chemnitz and Duesseldorf, and Nazi Storm Troopers fired into a crowd of women in another city when they demanded bread for their children.

"Although the Nazis attempt to conceal from outside ears what is going on in Germany by 'converting the whole country into a gigantic jail,' some information leaks out.

"The scanty news that gains publicity suffices to show the mood of the German people. . . .

"In addition to the riots in three cities, workers in Hamburg and other cities have protested collectively against the reduced food rations and demand 'an end to the accursed war.'"

From the upper classes too, in the last few months, has come much involuntary testimony of the critical situation, the growing opposition to the war, the widening rifts and splits in the regime. In December, 1941, Goebbels wrote in the periodical *Das Reich*:

"Our German unity is only of recent date. We are still bearing the scars from the divisions of the old party politics. Carefully and jealously we have to watch that they do not reopen even in a single place."

The entire German people was alleged to be united under Hitler. But all of a sudden Goebbels has to rant about "scars from the divisions." In December Hitler, too, stated in his speech:

"Nobody must expect to live who tries to deprecate the sacrifices made at the front. No matter under what camouflage he tries to disturb this German front, or to undermine the resistance of our people, or to weaken the authority of the regime, or to sabotage the achievements on the home front, he shall die for it."

When such threats are necessary there must be real cause. At the end of March Goebbels made a speech of threats against the German people over the radio. Among other menaces he gave the German

people this grim message to think over:

"He that hinders us deserves death.

"We shall permit no softness. We shall hang people without much ado, without suffering any pangs of conscience. Prisons for culprits. Death to culprits. The time has come to put an end to all leniency."

All this evidence from the heads of the Nazi regime corroborates the evidence from below of the growing activity, the growing dissatisfaction of the masses with the war and with Nazi rule. Only in this atmosphere can Hitler's March 30 speech be fully evaluated. His task was to try to yank the German people together again, rehabilitate shaken morale, buoy up sinking hopes, not only by means of wild threats, but also by "explanations" and promises.

First of all, he had to explain the defeats of the Nazi armies in the Soviet Union. He did not dare try to do anything but blame the winter again. But the people and the soldiers have an uncomfortable way of answering that argument somewhat like this: "Everybody knows that the Russian winters are cold and that they start early, according to the German way of thinking."

Hitler in his speech tried to answer the question which millions of Germans are asking more and more insistently: "When will peace come?" Hitler adjusted himself demagogically to these growing wishes within Germany for peace. Suddenly, it would seem, he is no longer fighting for the conquest of the world, for "the new order"; he

is only fighting against the "enemies of peace":

"There can therefore be only one solution, and that is to carry on this war until assurances of permanent peace have been won, which means annihilation of the enemies of such peace."

He returns to the peace theme in his speech when he declares that, long as the war yet may be, the peace that will come then will be permanent.

But the concentration point of Hitler's speech was naturally his spring offensive. He has proclaimed "imminent victory" over the Soviet Union a good many times before, and he does it again. He tries to win the people with new prophecies of victory over the Red Army in the spring and summer. He hopes by that method to eradicate all uncertainty, all doubt, from the German people. He has, however, become a little more cautious than he was in October. He no longer promises to conquer the whole Soviet Union; he wants only that "the Bolshevik colossus . . . be held at remote distance in its definite frontiers."

By this Hitler is leaving a little back door open for himself, should things go wrong: he will be able to interpret the phrase, "at remote distance," to suit the situation. At the same time, he is providing appeaser forces in Britain and the United States with an opening for agitation in behalf of a "negotiated peace" with Nazism.

What conclusions can be drawn from all this?

The beginning of a change among the German soldiers, the growing opposition in all strata of the Ger-

man people, the widening rifts, are so many more reasons for the Hitler regime to stake all on one card in the spring, to try to halt this menacing development on the home front by greater military successes. But if Hitler's spring offensive meets heavy blows from the beginning, if Hitler Germany is caught as by terrible iron pincers by a concerted offensive from the West as well as from the East, then very soon there will be not only rifts in Nazi Germany: there will be crashes from one corner to the other. It is no casual matter that the Nazis are setting up "pill-boxes" for machine guns in the streets of many cities, and that a special Nazi army has been designated to crush rebellious soldiers, rebellious workers, the rebellious German people. If, by a synchronized spring offensive, the American, British and Soviet fighting forces apply the pincers to Hitler Germany, it can be reckoned with the greatest probability that the uprising against Hitler in the German rear will most actively assist the liberating armies of the United Nations to win victory over Hitler in 1942.

Among all the reasons for the unqualified necessity of organizing the second front now against Hitler Germany, the situation in the German rear is not the least. History has given the liberation war of the United Nations tremendous chances of victory this spring and summer. Let the fighting unity of America and Britain, in conjunction with the Soviet Union, be expressed in the attack—now, in the spring of 1942—from two fronts to crush the Hitler backbone of the Nazi Fascist Axis!

ENFORCE THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT! STRENGTHEN THE WAR EFFORT BY ABOLISHING THE POLL TAX *

GENTLEMEN: We request your honorable committee to receive the following statement of our position on the question of the poll tax restrictions of the vote in certain states. We ask that you make this statement as a part of the official record of your hearings, and that in your deliberations you give it consideration.

* * *

We consider it an obligation of citizenship demanded of us by the democratic system of our country to add our voice to the demand that Congress take action to render impossible the further use of state poll-tax laws to deprive American citizens of their right to vote.

What we ask is no more than the honest enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which has the declared purpose of preventing precisely such undermining of our democracy as is accomplished now in the widespread disfranchisement of Southern voters through poll-tax laws.

The fifth Section of the Fourteenth Amendment authorizes Congress to enforce the Amendment by appropriate legislation.

* A letter sent on March 23 by the National Committee of the Communist Party to the hearings on poll-tax restrictions on voting before the Sub-Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

It is our opinion that the Pepper Anti-Poll Tax Bill, S-1289, should be passed as constructive legislation in the proper direction.

* * *

The clear object of the Fourteenth Amendment is the prevention of abridgement "*in any way*" of the right of citizens to vote. Congress in submitting this Amendment, and the states in ratifying it in 1868, had in view the fact that devices such as "grandfather clauses," night-rider terrorization, so-called "educational" qualifications, or *precisely the method of a poll-tax qualification* for voting, were then or might in the future be used as indirect means of evading the first Section of the Fourteenth Amendment, which says: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. . . ." As a means of sweeping away any and every possibility of such abridgement, the second Section of the Fourteenth Amendment declares:

"... But when the right to vote . . . is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in way way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the

basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state."

Thus the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, if honestly and honorably enforced through such "appropriate legislation" as authorized by Section 5 of the Amendment itself, is all-sufficient for the purpose in view.

The protection of the constitutional right of American citizens to vote has been allowed to lapse since about sixty-five years ago, in the Administration of President Rutherford B. Hayes, as far as the voting rights of poorer citizens, and particularly the Negro citizens, of most of the former slave states, are concerned. For more than half a century this blight upon American democracy, this flouting of the Constitution of the modern world's first and most advanced republic, has been a source of infinite suffering, unredressed injustice and brutality. It has been an inevitable cause of the flouting of other constitutional provisions such as the Fifteenth Amendment, by which our nation pledged its word that the right of its citizens to vote should not be denied "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," along with the general guarantee of "equal protection of the laws."

* * *

We ask the enforcement of the Constitution of the United States.

Obviously the interests of our country will best be served by the removal of the poll-tax restrictions upon the ballot in the eight poll-tax states, by immediate action of the United States Congress supported by the executive and judicial branches of the government, rather than by the reduction of the representation in Congress of the eight states in question, which is the alternative made mandatory by Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment. We do not seek the penalty for evasion of the democratic guarantees of the Constitution by these states, but rather we demand the alternative—that an end be put to the evasion immediately. But there is no question now that this matter has been brought to the attention of the American people, that the full constitutional provision must be enforced by one alternative or the other.

If the alternative of reduction of the representation of the eight states were to be applied, we may judge by comparison with the proportion of voters to the total population in California, for example, that the penalty for continued restriction of the ballot in the South by poll tax and other means would result in approximately the following:

That the seats of fourteen of the twenty-one Congressmen from Texas would be adjudged invalidly held, leaving only seven Congressmen from that state; Alabama would be deprived of six of its nine seats in Congress; Arkansas would lose five of its seven seats; Georgia would lose seven or eight of its

present representation of ten; Mississippi would lose five or six of its present seven representatives; Tennessee would lose five or six; Virginia's representation would be cut down by six, leaving only three of its present nine seats; and South Carolina would lose five out of its present six seats and would be represented by only one Congressman as a penalty for disfranchisement of its own citizens.

It is obviously preferable that Congressional action be taken to assure the vote to the people of these states rather than that such a reduction be made, which is the only alternative permitted by the Constitution.

The abolition of the poll-tax restrictions upon the ballot has become a necessity for the survival of the democracy of our country. Any who would deny the full and honest enforcement of the Constitution which they have sworn to uphold will unquestionable have to reckon with an aroused Southern people, white and Negro, no less than the patriotic protest of the country as a whole in the coming Congressional elections.

* * *

The domestic reasons for the simple and honest enforcement of our Constitution are more compelling now than they have been at any time since the great American Civil War.

But those domestic reasons, long evaded, must now give first place to the reasons of the war in which our country is engaged. Blind men in public life become victims to the

propagandists of our foreign enemies if they do not see that the subversion of our democracy at home, and the connivance with that subversion by men entrusted with public office, has become a menace, not merely to the integrity of our domestic democracy, but to the very life of our nation in the face of a world-wide war of extermination which Nazi Axis militarism has declared against our country.

* * *

Consider the effect in foreign lands of a further continuation of the unconstitutional disfranchisement of some 10,000,000 of our citizens, on grounds (really) of their colored racial stock or their economic poverty:

At this moment Filipino soldiers are standing heroically under General Wainwright, inspired by the example of General MacArthur, fighting and dying with faith in the promises of national independence and equality among nations which the United States has given them—no more solemnly than the promises that were given to the people of the Southern States through the Fourteenth Amendment to our Constitution.

* * *

The twenty nations of Latin American, composed of varied races, including not only white but also Indian and Negro, are faced with the vicious and demagogic propaganda of the Hitler fifth column on the one hand, and on the other hand the promise of preservation

of their national independence, of freedom of worship, of freedom of speech and freedom from fear which is made strong only by the faith that can be placed in the word of honor, the democracy and the even-handed justice that were first established in this world by the American Constitution and particularly by that Constitution as raised to its highest level of justice in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

It would be a fatal self-deception if the people of the United States were made to expect that the people of the twenty Latin American countries, the saving of whose national life and independence is bound up with the saving of our own, and military cooperation to that end, will place their faith in our true statements of our democratic aims in this war, if our practices at home give the lie to our words. It is not possible to make clear to our good neighbors to the South of us the vast real distinction that truly exists between our democracy and the hideous slavery of the German, Italian and Japanese fascist conquest, if we permit, in defiance of the Constitutional law which we swear to uphold, the hypocritical retention of the Hitler criterion of race in our national life.

* * *

The United States cannot fall short of its responsibility in sharing the leadership of all the free peoples in this war.

All serious men know by this time that the national existence of our country like that of all others de-

pends upon the loyal cooperation among ourselves, and our allies which include the great peoples of the Far East—the 400,000,000 people of China, the 360,000,000 people of India, the Malayan people, the Filipinos, who all together constitute a huge reserve of democracy and patriotic devotion to national freedom without which it is not possible even to dream of victory. The struggle for national independence is the paramount question of all peoples fighting against the Axis menace.

* * *

Patriotism in this time of crisis demands the laying aside of all petty sectional and partisan interests in the interests of our nation.

If there be vested interests, political or otherwise, that are bound up with the disfranchisement of 80 per cent of the citizenry in one of the important and most patriotic sections of our country, those interests must give way to the general interest of our country.

The disfranchisement of 86 per cent of otherwise qualified voters of South Carolina. Negro and white, by the poll tax (as compared to the proportion of voters in California, where over 80 per cent of the eligible citizens vote), the disfranchisement of 84 per cent in Mississippi, of 81½ per cent in Arkansas and Georgia—have become in fact a menace and a dishonor to the nation as a whole. The effective disfranchisement of 99½ per cent of adult Negroes in Alabama, of 98 per cent in South Carolina and Georgia, and only a slightly less degree of dis-

franchisement in the five other states, as well as the shameful "white primary," which in some states is practically a total disfranchisement on the same "racial" basis applied by the Nazi government of Germany, have ceased to be merely a dishonor and have become a material injury to our country in a time of great peril.

Despite their long prevalence we denounce such practices as contrary to the true spirit of our country. Their further tolerance by inaction of Congress would constitute defamation before the world of the first democratic Constitution of modern times, the United States Constitution, which for a century and a half has inspired emulation of men and nations striving for freedom. The unrepresentative character of elections held under such violation of the Constitution is inevitably reflected in a general decline of the capacity of Congress to meet its obligations to our great

nation, whose life is to be defended.

Measures most necessary to the defense and the morale of the country cannot and do not receive that treatment which is desired by the great patriotic majority of the population of states where unconstitutionally chosen Congressmen are in effect without responsibility to the vast majority of the people of their states and districts, who have no power to vote.

If there is any objection to the incorporation of this document in the official records of your hearings, as submitted here in writing, and if only oral testimony may be incorporated in that record, we would request that we be notified and permitted to have a representative of this party appear before your committee to testify for the record.

Respectfully,

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY

WM. Z. FOSTER, *Chairman*

ROBERT MINOR, *Acting Secretary*

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